UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Dar.
DA50
M29
V. 7

Darlington Memorial Library

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2009 with funding from
University of Pittsburgh Library System

http://www.archive.org/details/navalmilitaryhis_07mant

THE
NAVAL AND MILITARY HISTORY
OF THE
WARS OF ENGLAND;
FROM THE ROMAN INVASION TO THE TERMINATION
OF THE LATE WAR.

INCLUDING THE
WARS of SCOTLAND and IRELAND.

IN WHICH IS GIVEN,

An accurate and lively Deſcription of the SIEGES, BATTLES,
BOMBARDMENTS, SEA-ENGAGEMENTS, EXPEDITIONS,
and extenſive CONQUESTS, of the BRITISH ARMS,
in all Quarters of the Globe.

WITH A VARIETY OF

Intereſting and extraordinary ANECDOTES of Military Skill and
Intrepidity, heroic Adventures, brilliant Exploits, Martial Atchievements, and memorable Actions, of the BRITISH WARRIORS.

CALCULATED

To inſpire the Riſing Generation with MAGNANIMITY and VIRTUE,
and to IMPRESS on their MINDS the generous ARDOUR and NOBLE
EMULATION of their ANCESTORS.

By the late THOMAS MANTE, Esq.

AUTHOR OF MILITARY TACTICS, AND MAJOR OF BRIGADE
UNDER GENERAL SIR GUY CARLETON.

CONTINUED TO THE END OF THE LATE WAR, BY AN ABLE AND
IMPARTIAL HAND.

ORNAMENTED WITH ELEGANT COPPER-PLATES.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETOR BY LEWIS AND CO. NO. 2,
PATERNOSTER-ROW; AND SOLD BY CHAMPANTE
AND WHITROW, JEWRY-STREET, ALDGATE; AND
AT THE BRITISH DIRECTORY-OFFICE,
AVE-MARIA-LANE, ST. PAUL'S.

Ilay
IIA50
N31
v.17

THE

NAVAL AND MILITARY

HISTORY

OF THE

WARS OF ENGLAND.

OF THE WARS OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

WE have ſeen that, by the definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, in the year 1763, the Engliſh ceded to the French ſeveral iſlands which they had taken from them in the Weſt-Indies, but were confirmed in the poſſeſſion of all North America on this ſide the Miſſiſſippi, except the iſland of Orleans. But this war, however brilliant the ſucceſſes and glorious the event, proved the cauſe of great and unexpected misfortunes to Great Britain. Engaged with the combined powers of France and Spain during ſeveral years, her exertions were ſurpriſing, and her expenſe immenſe. To diſcharge the debts of the nation, the parliament was obliged to have recourſe to new expedients for raiſing money. Previous to the laſt treaty in 1763, the parliament had been ſatisfied to raiſe a revenue from the American colonies by a monopoly of their trade.

It will be proper there to obſerve, that there were four kinds of government eſtabliſhed in the Britiſh American colonies. The firſt was a charter government,

ment, by which the powers of legiſlation were veſted in a governor, council, and aſſembly, choſen by the people: of this kind were the governments of Connecticut and Rhode iſland. The ſecond was a proprietary government, in which the proprictor of the province was governor; although he generally reſided abroad, and adminiſtered the government by a deputy of his own appointment; the aſſembly only being choſen by the people: ſuch were the governments of Pennſylvania and Maryland, and originally of New Jerſey and Carolina. The third kind was that of royal government, where the governor and council were appointed by the crown, and the aſſembly by the people: of this kind were the governments of New Hampſhire, New York, New Jerſey (after the year 1702,) Virginia, the Carolinas after the reſignation of the proprietors in 1728, and Georgia. The fourth kind was that of Maſſachuſett's, which differed from all the reſt. The governor was appointed by the king; ſo far it was a royal government; but the members of the council were elected by the repreſentatives of the people. The governor, however, had a right to negative a certain number, but not to fill up vacancies thus occaſioned.

This variety of governments created different degrees of dependence on the crown. In the royal government, to render a law valid, it was conſtitutionally required that it ſhould be ratified by the king; but the charter governments were empowered to enact laws, and no ratification by the king was neceſſary. It was only required that ſuch laws ſhould not be contrary to the laws of England. The charter of Connecticut was expreſs to this purpoſe.

Such was the ſtate of the Britiſh colonies at the concluſion of the war in 1763. Their flouriſhing condition at this time was remarkable and ſtriking: their trade had proſpered in the midſt of all the difficulties and diſtreſſes of a war in which they were ſo nearly and ſo immediately concerned. Their population continued on the increaſe, notwithſtanding the ravages and depredations that had been ſo fiercely carried on by the French, and the native Indians in their alliance. They abounded with ſpirited and active individuals of all denominations. They were fluſhed with the uncommon proſperity that had attended them in their commercial affairs and military tranſactions. Hence they were ready for all kind of undertakings, and ſaw no limits to their hopes and expectations.

Their improvements in the neceſſary and uſeful arts did honour to their induſtry and ingenuity. Though they did not live in the luxury of Europe, they had all the ſolid and ſubſtantial enjoyments of life, and were not unacquainted with many of its elegancies and refinements. A circumſtance much to their praiſe is, that, notwithſtanding their peculiar addiction to thoſe occupations of which lucre is the ſole object, they were duly attentive to cultivate the field of learning; and they have ever ſince their firſt foundation been particularly careful to provide for the education of the riſing progeny. Their vaſt augmentation of internal trade and external commerce, was not merely owing to their poſition and facility of communication with other parts; it aroſe alſo from their natural turn and temper, full of ſchemes and projects; ever aiming at new diſcoveries, and continually employed in the ſearch of means of improving their condition. Their induſtry carried them into every quarter from whence profit could be derived. There was ſcarcely any port of the American hemiſphere to which they had not extended their navigation. They were continually exploring new ſources of trade, and were found in every ſpot where buſineſs could be tranſacted. To this extenſive and inceſſant application to commerce, they added an equal vigilance in the adminiſtration of their affairs at home. Whatever could conduce to the amelioration of the ſoil they poſſeſſed, to the progreſs of agriculture, or to the improvement of their domeſtic circumſtances, was attended to with ſo much labour and care, that it may be ſtrictly ſaid, that nature had given them nothing of which they did not make the moſt. In the midſt of this ſolicitude and toil in matters of buſineſs, the affairs of government were conducted with a ſteadineſs, prudence, and activity, ſeldom experienced, and never exceeded, in the beſt-regulated countries of Europe.

At the beginning of the war with France, commiſſioners from many of the colonies had aſſembled at Albany, and propoſed that a great council ſhould be formed by deputies from the ſeveral colonies, which, with a general governor to be appointed by the crown, ſhould be empowered to take meaſures for the common ſafety, and to raiſe money for the execution of their deſigns. This propoſal was not reliſhed by the Britiſh miniſtry; but, in place of this plan, it was propoſed, that the governors of the colonies, with one or two of their council, ſhould aſſemble and concert meaſures for the general defence; erect forts, levy troops, and draw on the treaſury of England for the monies that ſhould be wanted; but the treaſury to be reimburſed by a tax on the colonies, to be laid by the Britiſh parliament. To this plan, which would imply an avowal of the right of parliament to tax the colonies, the provincial aſſemblies objected with unſhaken firmneſs. Hence it ſeems that the Britiſh parliament, even before the war, had it in contemplation to exerciſe the right of taxing the colonies, without permitting them to be repreſented. The colonies, however, with an uncommon foreſight and firmneſs, defeated theſe attempts, and the war was carried on by requiſitions on the colonies for ſupplies of men and money, or by voluntary contributions.

But no ſooner was peace concluded, than the Engliſh parliament reſumed the ſcheme of taxing America; and, in March, 1764, a bill was paſſed, by which duties were laid on goods imported by the coloniſts from ſuch Weſt-India iſlands as did not belong to Great Britain; at the ſame time that theſe duties were to be paid into the exchequer in ſpecie: and, in the ſame ſeſſion, another bill was framed to reſtrain the currency of paper-money in the colonies themſelves. Theſe acts, coming ſo cloſe upon each other, threw the whole colonies into the utmoſt ferment. Vehement remonſtrances were made to the miniſtry, and every argument made uſe of that reaſon or ingenuity could ſuggeſt, but to no purpoſe. The Americans, thus finding all arguments vain, united in an agreement to import no more of the manufactures of Great Britain, but to encourage to their utmoſt of the power every thing of that kind among themſelves. Previous to this, indeed, ſeveral regulations were paſſed in favour of the commerce of the colonies; but they had now imbibed ſuch unfavourable ſentiments of the Britiſh miniſtry, that they paid very little regard to any thing pretended to be done in their favour; or, if theſe acts made any favourable impreſſion, it was quickly obliterated by the news of the ſtamp-act. The reaſon given for this act, ſo exceedingly obnoxious, was, that a ſum might be raiſed ſufficient for the defence of the colonies againſt a foreign enemy; but this pretence was ſo far from giving any ſatisfaction to the Americans, that it excited their indignation to the utmoſt degree. They not only aſſerted that they were abundantly able to defend themſelves againſt any foreign enemy, but denied that England had any right to tax them at all, unleſs they were allowed the privilege of ſending repreſentatives to the Britiſh parliament.

It would be ſuperfluous to enter into any of the arguments uſed by the contending parties on this important occaſion. The ſtamp-act, after a violent oppoſition, was paſſed, and its reception in America was ſuch as might have been expected. The news, and the act itſelf, firſt arrived at Boſton, where the bells were muffled and rung a funeral peal. The act was firſt hawked about the ſtreets with a death's head affixed to it, and ſtyled the "Folly of England, and the ruin of America;" and afterwards publicly burnt by the enraged populace. The ſtamps themſelves were ſeized upon and deſtroyed; thoſe who were to receive the ſtamp-duties were compelled to reſign their offices; and ſuch of the Americans as ſided with government had their houſes plundered and burnt.

It was now found abſolutely neceſſary either to yield to the Americans, by repealing the obnoxious ſtatutes, or to enforce them by arms. The ferment had diffuſed itſelf univerſally throughout the colonies. Non-importation agreements were every where entered into; and it was even reſolved to prevent the ſale of any more Britiſh goods after the preſent year. American manufactures, though dearer, as well as inferior in quality to the Britiſh, were univerſally preferred. An aſſociation was entered into againſt eating of lamb, in order to promote the growth of wool; and the ladies with cheerfulneſs agreed to renounce the uſe of every ſpecies of ornament manufactured in Britain. Such a general and alarming confederacy determined the miniſtry to repeal ſome of the moſt obnoxious ſtatutes; and to this they were the more inclined by a petition from the firſt American congreſs, held at New York in October 1765.

The ſtamp-act was therefore repealed, to the univerſal joy of the Americans, and indeed to the general ſatisfaction of the Engliſh, whoſe manufactures had begun to ſuffer very ſeverely in conſequence of the American aſſociation againſt them. The miniſtry were conſcious, that, in repealing this obnoxious act, they yielded to the Americans; and therefore, to ſupport, as they thought, the dignity of Great Britain, it was judged proper to publiſh a declaratory bill, ſetting forth the authority of the mother-country over her colonies, and her power to bind them by laws and ſtatutes *in all caſes whatever.* This much diminiſhed the joy with which the repeal of the ſtamp-act was received in America. It was conſidered as a proper reaſon to enforce any claims equally prejudicial with the ſtamp-act, which might hereafter be ſet up; a ſpirit of jealouſy pervaded the whole continent, and a ſtrong party was formed, watchful on every occaſion to guard againſt the ſuppoſed encroachments of the Britiſh power.

It was not long before an occaſion offered, in which the Americans maniſeſted a ſpirit of abſolute independency; and that, inſtead of being bound by the Engliſh legiſlature in all caſes, they would not be controuled by it in the moſt trivial affairs. The Rockingham miniſtry had paſſed an act, providing the troops ſtationed in different parts of the colonies with ſuch accommodations as were neceſſary for them. The aſſembly of New York, however, took upon them to alter the mode of execution preſcribed by the act of parliament, and to ſubſtitute one of their own. This gave great offence to the new miniſtry, and rendered them, though compoſed of thoſe who had been active againſt the ſtamp-bill, leſs favourable to the colonies than in all probability they would have otherwiſe been. An unlucky circumſtance at the ſame time occurred, which threw every thing once more into confuſion. One of the new miniſtry, Mr. Charles Townſend, having declared that he could find a way of taxing the Americans without giving them offence, was called upon to propoſe his plan. This was by impoſing a duty upon tea, paper, painters' colours, and glaſs, imported into America. The undutiful behaviour of the New York aſſembly, and that of Boſton, which had proceeded in a ſimilar manner, cauſed this bill to meet with leſs oppoſition than it otherwiſe might have done. As a puniſhment to the refractory aſſemblies, the legiſlative power was taken from that of New York, until it ſhould fully comply with the terms of the act. That of Boſton at laſt ſubmitted with reluctance. The bill for the new taxes was quickly paſſed, and ſent to America in 1768.

A ferment much greater than that occaſioned by the ſtamp-act now took place, which was farther augmented by the news that a number of troops had been ordered to repair to Boſton, to keep the inhabitants in awe. A dreadful alarm pervaded the whole town: and the people called on the governor to convene a general aſſembly, in order to remove their fears of the military; who they ſaid were to be aſſembled to overthrow their liberties, and force obedience to laws to which they were entirely averſe. The governor replied, that it was no longer in his power to call an aſſembly; having in his laſt inſtructions from England, being required to wait the king's orders, the matter being then under conſideration at home. Being thus refuſed, the people took upon themſelves the formation of an aſſembly, which they called a *Convention*. The proceedings and reſolutions of this were conformable to their former behaviour; but now they went a ſtep farther, and, under pretence of an approaching rupture with France, ordered the inhabitants to put themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt any ſudden attack of an enemy; and circular letters were directed to all the towns in the province, acquainting them with the reſolutions that had been taken in the capital, and exhorting them to proceed in the ſame manner. The town of Hatfield alone refuſed its concurrence; but this ſerved only to expoſe it to the cenſure and contempt of the reſt. The convention thought proper to aſſure the governor of their pacific intentions, and renewed their requeſt that an aſſembly might be called; but being refuſed any audience, and threatened with being treated as rebels, they at laſt thought proper to diſſolve of themſelves, and ſent over to England a circumſtantial account of their proceeedings, with the reaſon of their having aſſembled in the manner already mentioned.

The expected troops arrived at Boſton on the very day on which the convention broke up, and had ſome houſes in the town prepared for their reception. Their arrival had a conſiderable influence on the people, and for ſome time ſeemed to put an end to the diſturbances; but the ſeeds of diſcord had taken ſuch deep root, that it was impoſſible to deſtroy them. The late ſpirited behaviour in Boſton had given the greateſt offence in England; and, notwithſtanding all the efforts of oppoſition, an addreſs from both houſes of parliament was preſented to the king; in which the daring behaviour of the colony of Maſſachuſett's bay was circumſtantially ſet forth, and the moſt vigorous meaſures recommended for reducing them to obedience. The Americans, however, continued ſteadfaſt in the ideas they had adopted. Though the troops had for ſome time quieted the diſturbances, yet the calm continued no longer than they appeared reſpectable on account of their number; but, as ſoon as this was diminiſhed by the departure of a large detachment, the remainder were treated with contempt, and it was even reſolved to expel them altogether. The country people took up arms for this purpoſe, and were to have aſſiſted their friends in Boſton; but, before the plot could be put in execution, an event happened which put an end to every idea of reconciliation betwixt the contending parties.

On the 5th of March 1770, a ſcuffle happened between ſome ſoldiers and a party of the town's people. The ſoldiers, while under arms, were preſſed upon, inſulted, and pelted, by a mob, armed with clubs, ſticks, and ſnow-balls covering ſtones; they were alſo dared to fire. In this ſituation, one of the ſoldiers, who had received a blow, in reſentment fired at the ſuppoſed aggreſſor. This was followed by a ſingle diſcharge from ſix others; ſo that three of the inhabitants were killed, and five dangerouſly wounded. The town was immediately in commotion; and ſuch was the temper, force, and number, of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townſmen from falling on the ſoldiers. The killed were buried in one vault, and in a moſt reſpectful manner, in order to expreſs the indignation of the inhabitants at the ſlaughter of their brethren, by ſoldiers quartered among them, in violation of their civil liberties. Captain Preſton, who commanded the party which fired on the inhabitants, was committed to jail, and afterwards tried; but the captain, and ſix of the men, were acquitted, and two only brought in guilty of man-ſlaughter; for it appeared on the trial, that the ſoldiers were inſulted, threatened, and pelted, before they fired: and it was alſo proved, that only ſeven guns were fired by the eight priſoners; theſe circumſtances, therefore, induced the jury to make a favourable verdict. The reſult of the trial reflected great honour on John Adams, and Joſiah Quincey, Eſqrs. the counſel for the priſoners; and alſo on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions. The conſequences of this tragical event ſunk deep into the minds of the people, and were made ſubſervient to important purpoſes. The anniverſary of it was obſerved with great ſolemnity for thirteen years, when eloquent orators were ſucceſſively employed to deliver an annual oration, to preſerve the remembrance of it freſh in their minds. On theſe occaſions the bleſſings of liberty, the horrors of ſlavery, the dangers of a ſtanding army, the rights of the colonies, and a variety of ſuch topics, were repreſented to the public view under their moſt pleaſing and alarming forms. Theſe annual orations adminiſtered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an inceſſant flame.

The determination of the Americans now continued, if poſſible, more firm than ever, until at laſt government, reſolved to act with vigour, and at the ſame time to behave with as much condeſcenſion as poſſible, repealed all the duties lately laid on, that of tea alone excepted. This was left on purpoſe to maintain the dignity of the crown of England; and it was thought that it could not be productive of any diſcontent in America, as being an affair of very little moment, the produce of which was not expected to exceed 16,000l. The oppoſition, however, were ſtrenuous in their endeavours to get this tax likewiſe abrogated; inſiſting, that the Americans would conſider it only as an inlet to others; and that the repeal of all the reſt, without this, would anſwer no good purpoſe. The event ſhewed that their opinion was well founded. The Americans oppoſed the tea-tax with the ſame violence as they had done all the reſt: and, at laſt, on the news that ſalaries had been ſettled on the juſtices of the ſuperior court of Boſton, the governor was addreſſed on the ſubject; the meaſure was condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms; and a committee ſelected out of the ſeveral diſtricts of the colony appointed to enquire into it.

The new aſſembly proceeded in the moſt formal manner to diſavow the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature; and accuſed the parliament of Britain of having violated the natural rights of the Americans in a number of inſtances. Copies of the tranſactions of this aſſembly were tranſmitted to every town in Maſſachuſett, exhorting the inhabitants to rouſe themſelves, and exert every nerve in oppoſition to the iron hand of oppreſſion, which was daily tearing the choiceſt fruits from the fair tree of liberty. The diſturbances were alſo greatly heightened by an accidental diſcovery that Mr. Hutchinſon, governor of Maſſachuſett's bay, had written ſeveral confidential letters to people in power in England, complaining of the behaviour of the province, recommending vigorous meaſures againſt them, and, among other things, aſſerting, that "there muſt be an abridgment of what is called Britiſh liberty."

liberty." Letters of this kind had ſome how or other fallen into the hands of the agent for the colony at London. They were immediately tranſmitted to Boſton, where the aſſembly was ſitting, by whom they were laid before their governor, who was thus reduced to a very mortifying ſituation. Loſing every idea of reſpect or friendſhip for him as their governor, they inſtantly diſpatched a petition to the king, requeſting him to remove the governor and deputy-governor from their places; but to this they not only received no favourable anſwer, but the petition itſelf was declared groundleſs and ſcandalous.

Matters were now ripe for the utmoſt extremities on the part of the Americans; and they were brought on in the following manner: Though the coloniſts had entered into a non importation agreement againſt tea as well as all other commodities from Britain, it had nevertheleſs found its way into America, though in ſmaller quantities than before. This was ſenſibly felt by the Eaſt-India company, who had now agreed to pay a large ſum annually to government; in recompence for which compliance, and to make up their loſſes in other reſpects, they were empowered to export their tea free from any duty payable in Britain; and, in conſequence of this permiſſion, ſeveral ſhips freighted with the commodity were ſent to North America, and proper agents appointed for the diſpoſing of it. The Americans, now perceiving that the tax was thus likely to be enforced whether they would or not, determined to take every poſſible method to prevent the tea from being landed, as well knowing that it would be impoſſible to hinder the ſale ſhould the commodity once be brought on ſhore. For this purpoſe the people aſſembled in great numbers, forcing thoſe to whom the tea was conſigned to reſign their offices, and to promiſe ſolemnly never to reſume them; and committees were appointed to examine the accounts of merchants, and make public teſts, declaring ſuch as would not take them enemies to their country. In the midſt of this confuſion, three ſhips laden with tea arrived at Boſton; but ſo much were the captains alarmed at the diſpoſition which ſeemed to prevail among the people, that they offered, provided they could obtain the proper diſcharges from the tea-conſignees, cuſtom-houſe, and governor, to return to England without landing their cargoes. The parties concerned, however, though they durſt not order the tea to be landed, refuſed to grant the diſcharges required. The ſhips, therefore, would have been obliged to remain in the harbour; but the people, apprehenſive that if they remained there the tea would be landed in ſmall quantities, and diſpoſed of in ſpite of every endeavour to prevent it, reſolved to deſtroy it at once. This reſolution was executed with equal ſpeed and ſecrecy. The very evening after the above-mentioned diſcharges had been refuſed, a number of people, dreſſed like Mohawk Indians, boarded the ſhips, and threw into the ſea their whole cargoes, conſiſting of 342 cheſts of tea; after which they retired without making any farther diſturbance, or doing any more damage. No tea was deſtroyed in other places, though the ſame ſpirit was every where manifeſted. At Philadelphia the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the veſſels up the river; and at New York, though the governor cauſed ſome tea to be landed under the protection of a man-of-war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the cuſtody of the people, to prevent its being ſold.

The deſtruction of the tea at Boſton, which happened in November 1773, was the immediate prelude to the diſaſters attending civil diſcord. Government, finding themſeves every where inſulted and deſpiſed, reſolved to enforce their authority by all poſſible means; and, as Boſton had been the principal ſcene of the riots and outrages, it was determined to puniſh that city in an exemplary manner. Parliament was acquainted,

quainted, by a meſſage from his majeſty, with the undutiful behaviour of the city of Boſton, as well as of the colonies; recommending, at the ſame time, the moſt vigorous and ſpirited exertions, to reduce them to obedience. The parliament in its addreſs promiſed a ready compliance; and indeed the Americans, by their outrageous behaviour, had now loſt many of their partizans. It was propoſed to lay a fine on the town of Boſton, equal to the price of the tea which had been deſtroyed, and to ſhut up its port by armed veſſels, until the refractory ſpirit of the inhabitants ſhould be ſubdued; which it was thought muſt quickly yield, as a total ſtop would thus be put to their trade. The bill was ſtrongly oppoſed, on the ſame grounds that the other had been; and it was predicted, that, inſtead of having any tendency to reconcile or ſubdue the Americans, it would infallibly exaſperate them beyond any poſſibility of reconciliation. The petitions againſt it, preſented by the colony's agent, pointed out the ſame conſequence in the ſtrongeſt terms, and in the moſt poſitive manner declared, that the Americans never would ſubmit to it: but ſuch was the infatuation attending every rank and degree of men, that it never was imagined the Americans would dare to reſiſt the parent ſtate openly, but would in the end ſubmit implicitly to her commands. In this confidence a third bill was propoſed, for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice on ſuch perſons as might be employed in the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults in the province of Maſſachuſett's bay. By this act it was provided, that ſhould any perſons acting in that capacity be indicted for murder, and not able to obtain a fair trial in that province, they might be ſent by the governor to England, or to ſome other colony, if neceſſary, to be tried for the ſuppoſed crime.

Theſe three bills having paſſed, the miniſtry propoſed a fourth, relative to the government of Canada; which, it was ſaid, had not yet been ſettled on any proper

per plan. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the direction of a council, in which Roman Catholics were to be admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were ſecured in their poſſeſſions, and the uſual perquiſites from thoſe of their own profeſſion. The council abovementioned were to be appointed by the crown, to be removeable at its pleaſure; and to be inveſted with every legiſlative power, excepting that of taxation. A ſtill greater oppoſition was made to this Quebec bill, inſomuch that, before it could be carried, the miniſters were obliged to drop much of that high and aſpiring tone to which they had accuſtomed themſelves in talking of American affairs. The minority contended, that here, without any neceſſity pleaded, or even ſuggeſted, an arbitrary influence was extended by act of parliament to that province, furniſhing a dangerous precedent, and an additional inſtance of the averſion which miniſtry bore to the rights of the people. They argued likewiſe in favour of the mode of trial by juries, and thought that the eſtabliſhment of the Roman Catholic religion there gave it a preference over the Proteſtant, which was now only to be exerciſed by toleration. The people at large alſo were alarmed at the religious part of the bill, and it is not impoſſible that the ſuſpicions conceived at this time might contribute in ſome meaſure to the dangerous inſurrections of 1779 and 1780.

At the concluſion of the ſeſſion his majeſty expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at what had been done, and hopes of the good effects that would attend the new regulations. In Britain, the people ſeemed to wait the event with indifference; but no ſooner were theſe laws made known in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies almoſt beyond any poſſibility of diſſolving it. The aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's bay had paſſed a vote againſt the judges accepting ſalaries from the crown, and put the queſtion, Whether they would accept them as uſual from the general aſſembly? Four anſwered in

the

the affirmative; but Peter Oliver, the chief-juſtice, refuſed. A petition againſt him, and an accuſation, were brought before the governor; but the latter refuſed the accuſation, and declined to interfere in the matter; but, as they ſtill inſiſted for what they called juſtice againſt Mr. Oliver, the governor thought proper to put an end to the matter by diſſolving the aſſembly.

In this ſituation of affairs, a new alarm was occaſioned by the news of the Boſton port bill. This had been totally unexpected, and was received with the moſt extravagant expreſſions of diſpleaſure among the populace; and, while theſe continued, the new governor, General Gage, arrived from England, May 1774. He had been choſen to this office on account of his being well acquainted in America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wiſdom could not now point out a method by which the flame could be allayed. The firſt act of his office, as governor, was to remove the aſſembly to Salem, a town ſeventeen miles diſtant, in conſequence of the late act. When this was intimated to the aſſembly, they replied by requeſting him to appoint a day of public humiliation for deprecating the wrath of heaven, but met with a refuſal. When met at Salem, they paſſed a reſolution, declaring the neceſſity of a general congreſs compoſed of delegates from all the provinces in order to take the affairs of the colonies at large into conſideration; and five gentlemen, remarkable for their oppoſition to the Britiſh meaſures, were choſen to repreſent that of Maſſachuſett's bay. They then proceeded with all expedition to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances they laboured under, and the neceſſity of exerting themſelves againſt lawleſs power; they ſet forth the diſregard ſhewn to their petitions, and the attempts of Great Britain to deſtroy their ancient conſtitution; and concluded with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony to obſtruct, by every method in their power, ſuch evil deſigns; recommending at the ſame time, a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great Britain, till a redreſs of grievances could be procured. Intelligence of this declaration was carried to the governor on the very day it was completed; on which he diſſolved the aſſembly. This was followed by an addreſs from the inhabitants of Salem, in favour of thoſe of Boſton, and concluding with theſe remarkable words: "By ſhutting up the port of Boſton, ſome imagine that the courſe of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and, were it otherwiſe, we muſt be dead to every idea of juſtice, and loſt to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to ſeize on wealth, and raiſe our fortunes on the ruin of our ſuffering neighbours."

It had been fondly hoped by the miniſterial party at home, that the advantages which other towns of the colony might derive from the annihilation of the trade of Boſton, would make them readily acquieſce in the meaſure of ſhutting up that port, and rather rejoice in it than otherwiſe; but the words of the addreſs abovementioned ſeemed to preclude all hope of this kind; and ſubſequent tranſactions ſoon manifeſted it to be totally vain. No ſooner did intelligence arrive of the remaining bills paſſed in the ſeſſion of 1774, than the cauſe of Boſton became the cauſe of all the colonies. The port-bill had already occaſioned violent commotions throughout them all. It had been reprobated in provincial meetings, and reſiſtance, even to the laſt extremity, had been recommended againſt ſuch oppreſſion. In Virginia, the firſt of June, the day on which the port of Boſton was to be ſhut up, was held as a day of humiliation, and a public interceſſion in favour of America was enjoined. The ſtyle of the prayer was, that "God would give the people one heart and one mind, firmly to oppoſe every invaſion of American rights." The Virginians, however, did not content themſelves with acts of religion. They recommended, in the ſtrongeſt manner, a general congreſs of all the colonies; as fully perſuaded, that an attempt to tax any colony in an arbitrary manner, was in reality an attack upon the whole, and muſt ultimately end in the ruin of them all.

The provinces of New York and Pennſylvania were leſs ſanguine than the reſt, being ſo cloſely connected in trade with Great Britain, that the giving it up entirely appeared a matter of the moſt ſerious magnitude, and not to be thought of but after every other method had failed. The intelligence of the remaining bills reſpecting Boſton, however, ſpread a freſh alarm throughout the continent, and fixed thoſe who had ſeemed to be the moſt wavering. The propoſal of giving up all commercial intercourſe with Britain was again propoſed; contributions for the inhabitants of Boſton were raiſed in every quarter; and they every day received addreſſes, commending them for the heroic courage with which they ſuſtained their calamity.

The Boſtonians, on their part, were not wanting in their endeavours to promote the general cauſe. An agreement was framed, which, in imitation of former times, they called a "Solemn League and Covenant." By this the ſubſcribers moſt religiouſly bound themſelves to break off all communication with Britain after the expiration of the month of Auguſt enſuing, until the obnoxious acts were repealed; at the ſame time they engaged neither to purchaſe nor uſe any goods imported after that time, and to renounce all connection with thoſe who did, or who refuſed to ſubſcribe to this covenant; threatening to publiſh the names of the refractory, which at this time was a puniſhment by no means to be deſpiſed. Agreements of a ſimilar kind were almoſt inſtantaneouſly entered into throughout all America. General Gage indeed attempted to counteract the covenant by a proclamation, wherein it was declared an illegal and traitorous combination, threatening with the pains of law ſuch as ſubſcribed or countenanced it. But matters were too far gone for his proclamation to have any effect. The Americans retorted the charge of illegality; and inſiſted, that the law allowed ſubjects to meet in order to conſider of their grievances, and aſſociate for relief from oppreſſion.

Preparations were now made for holding the general congreſs ſo often propoſed. Philadelphia, as being the moſt conſiderable town, was pitched upon for the place of its meeting. The delegates of whom it was to be compoſed, were choſen by the repreſentatives of each province; and were in number from two to ſeven for each colony, though no province had more than one vote. The firſt congreſs, which met at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September, 1774, conſiſted of fifty-one delegates. The novelty and importance of the meeting excited an univerſal attention; and their tranſactions were ſuch as could not but tend to render them reſpectable.

The firſt act of congreſs was an approbation of the conduct of Maſſachuſett's bay, and an exhortation to continue in the ſame ſpirit with which they had begun. Supplies for the ſuffering inhabitants (whom indeed the operation of the port-bill had reduced to great diſtreſs) were ſtrongly recommended; and it was declared, that, in caſe of attempts to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America ſhould join to aſſiſt the town of Boſton; and ſhould the inhabitants be obliged, during the courſe of hoſtilities, to remove farther up the country, the loſſes they might ſuſtain ſhould be repaired at the public expence.

Matters thus went on, until every idea of reconciliation or friendſhip with Britain was loſt. The Americans, without ceremony, began to ſeize on the military ſtores and ammunition belonging to government.

This firſt commenced at Newport in Rhode Iſland, where the inhabitants carried off forty pieces of cannon appointed for the protection of the place; and, on being aſked the reaſon of this proceeding, they replied, that the people had ſeized them leſt they ſhould be made uſe of againſt themſelves. After this the aſſembly met, and reſolved, that ammunition and warlike ſtores ſhould be purchaſed with the public money. New Hampſhire followed the example of Rhode Iſland, and ſeized a ſmall fort, for the ſake of the powder and military ſtores it contained. In Pennſylvania a convention was held, which expreſſed an earneſt deſire of reconciliation with the mother-country; though, at the ſame time, in the ſtrongeſt manner declaring, that they were reſolved to take up arms in defence of their juſt rights; and the people were exhorted to apply themſelves with the greateſt aſſiduity to the proſecution of ſuch manufactures as were neceſſary for their defence and ſubſiſtence, ſuch as ſalt, ſalt-petre, gun-powder, ſteel, &c.

Such was the poſture of affairs in America, when the parliament of Great Britain, which had now ſat ſix years, was ſuddenly diſſolved, and a new one met on the 30th of November. The land-tax for 1775 was continued at three ſhillings in the pound; and only 16,000 ſeamen were required, which were four thouſand leſs than the preceding year. Theſe low eſtabliſhments ſeemed but ill to agree with the meaſures that were to be enforced; but the firſt lord of the admiralty confidentially aſſerted in the houſe of lords, that a very inconſiderable force would reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and quoted a great naval commander, Sir Peter Warren, who died twenty years before, that had aſſured him that the Americans were poltrons and cowards. This aſſertion was carried acroſs the Atlantic, and operated powerfully all over the continent, in rouſing a martial ſpirit. Men may forgive injuries, but they never forgive contempt.

In the houſe of lords the Earl of Chatham moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, praying him to recal the troops from Boſton: "It is not," ſays that eloquent ſtateſman, "repealing this or that act of parliament, it is not cancelling a piece of parchment, that can reſtore America to your boſom: you muſt repeal her fears and her reſentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, inſulted with an armed force poſted at Boſton; irritated with an hoſtile array before her eyes; her conceſſions, if you could force them, would be ſuſpicious and inſecure; they will not be the ſound honourable pactions of freemen; they will be the dictates of fear, and extortions of force. But it is more than evident that you cannot force them, principled and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of ſubmiſſion. It is impoſſible. When your lordſhips look at the papers tranſmitted us from America; when you conſider their decency, firmneſs, and wiſdom, you cannot but reſpect their cauſe, and wiſh to make it your own. For myſelf, I muſt declare and avow, that in all my reading and obſervation—I have read Thucydides, and have ſtudied and admired the maſter-ſtates of the world—It has been my favourite ſtudy—yet I declare, that for ſolidity of reaſoning, force of ſagacity, and wiſdom of concluſion, under ſuch a complication of difficult circumſtances, no nation or body of men ſtand in preference to the general congreſs at Philadelphia. I truſt that it is obvious to your lordſhips that all attempts to impoſe ſervitude upon ſuch men, to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm over ſuch a mighty continential nation, muſt be vain, muſt be fatal. We ſhall be forced ultimately to retract. Let us retract voluntarily, not wait till we muſt. I ſay we muſt neceſſarily undo theſe violent and oppreſſive acts: they *muſt* be repealed; you *will* repeal them; I pledge myſelf for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I ſtake my reputation on it. I will conſent to be taken for an ideot if they are not repealed. Avoid then this humiliating diſgraceful neceſſity. With a dignity becoming your exalted ſituation, make the firſt advances to concord, to peace and happineſs: for that is your true dignity, to act with prudence and with juſtice. That you ſhould firſt concede, is obvious from ſound and rational policy. Conceſſion comes with better grace and more ſalutary effect from the ſuperior power; it reconciles ſuperiority of power with the feelings of men; and eſtabliſhes ſolid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. Every motive therefore of juſtice and policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America, by a removal of your troops from Boſton—by a repeal of your acts of parliament—and by demonſtration of amicable diſpoſitions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perſeverance in your preſent ruinous meaſures. Foreign war hanging over your heads by a ſlight and brittle thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors. To conclude my lords: If the miniſters thus perſevere in miſadviſing and miſleading the king, I will not ſay that they can alienate the affections of his ſubjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing: I will not ſay that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."—All his eloquence, however, proved ineffectual; adminiſtration was determined upon forcing the Americans into ſubjection, and his motion was rejected by 68 to 18.

In the mean time petitions againſt coercive meaſures with America had been received from moſt of the trading companies of the kingdom: which, though highly diſpleaſing to adminiſtration, could not be abſolutely rejected, though it was fully determined not to yield to their requeſts in the ſmalleſt degree. A committee was therefore appointed to take them into conſideration, which was not to take place until the American affairs were alſo conſidered. The reaſon given for this method of proceeding was, that the conſideration of commercial matters ought not to interfere with thoſe of the political kind; each of them being ſufficiently embarraſſing without any other. This delay of hearing theſe petitions was ſuppoſed to be an abſolute rejection of them in effect; and ſo indeed it proved to be, the committee to which they were conſigned being humourouſly called the *committee of oblivion*. "War (ſays Dr. Andrews) was now the word; and notwithſtanding no weightier reaſon could be given for not attending to what the petitioners had to ſay, than this very determination, yet that was the very motive that impelled miniſters to refuſe them a hearing, leſt theſe ſhould make it appear how unwiſe it was to precipitate the nation into ſuch a meaſure."

But though there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt that adminiſtration were now fully determined upon a war, and therefore wiſhed to be troubled with as few objections as poſſible, they were by no means deficient in arguments for the defence of their own conduct. They alleged that the petitions ſo much recommended to the attention of the houſe were principally the work of a factious party. The advantages accruing from the American trade were owing to the dependent ſituation of the colonies, who now aimed at a ſuperiority over Great Britain, or at leaſt at ſhaking off entirely the ſuperiority which the mother-country had till now exerciſed over them without the ſmalleſt complaint. It was the advantage of the merchants themſelves that was conſulted by maintaining that ſuperiority; and the merchants themſelves would be the firſt to feel the bad conſequences of its being loſt. War and its conſequences are no doubt very terrible, but ſometimes are neceſſary, to prevent greater evils. The greateſt evil that can befal a trading nation is the loſs of its commerce; and were the Americans to perſiſt in their courſes at that time for a few years longer, this conſequence muſt inevitably enſue.

It was beſides inſiſted, that though adminiſtration were to yield the preſent conteſt, the warmeſt advocates for America could not pretend to ſay what would be the laſt of its demands. The Americans aimed in reality at the repeal of whatever appeared obnoxious to their immediate intereſt: but that and their real intereſt differed very much. The greateſt political evil that could befal them was to be deprived of the political and commercial ſupport they received from Great Britain; and to this they muſt ultimately ſubmit, if they ſhould ever ſucceed in the purſuit of that deluſive phantom of independence which they now accounted their happieſt ſituation. In ſhort, adminiſtration inſiſted, not without a great ſhow of reaſon, that the Americans were not to be reclaimed by conceſſions. Mercantile people indeed might imagine ſo, from the facility with which conceſſions would be made, and the ſpeed with which tranquillity would be reſtored. But tranquillity procured in this manner would laſt no longer than till the colonies, unfettered by any regulations, perceived, or imagined they perceived, the benefit of dealing with other countries, and carried their own commodities wherever they thought proper. This was the point at which they inconteſtably aimed, whatever they might pretend to the contrary; for, notwithſtanding the boaſts they made of the vaſt buſineſs tranſacted with Britain, it was well known to ariſe from the immenſe credit they were indulged with there, and which they could not expect elſewhere.

The honour and character of the nation were now alſo ſaid to be at ſtake. The Britiſh had often taken up arms for matters of leſs conſequence; why then ſhould they now heſitate in a caſe like the preſent, where honour and intereſt both called upon them for the moſt vigorous and ſpeedy exertions? Formerly it was the cuſtom of the merchants to ſecond the wiſhes of miniſtry in this reſpect, inſtead of oppoſing them. The inconvenience of ſuſpending their profits for a time muſt be ſubmitted to, and their enemies would experience as many if not more of the ſame kind; and it would be unworthy of the character they had ſo long ſuſtained to yield to indignities for the ſake of profit. The loſſes above mentioned, however, would be but trifling in compariſon of thoſe that would follow in time to come, ſhould Britain from want of ſpirit give up the aſſertion of her juſt rights. This was a policy hitherto unknown in Britain, which had heretofore been noted for the ardour and celerity with which they were maintained.

A conciliatory plan was now prepared by the Earl of Chatham, which was preſented on the 1ſt of February 1775. The intent of his bill, he ſaid, was to ſettle the troubles in America, and to aſſert at the ſame time the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of Great Britain over her colonies. This was to be done by their acknowledging on their part the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature and the ſuperintending power of parliament. No taxes were to be levied in America but with the free conſent of their aſſemblies. It aſſerted a right in the crown to keep and ſtation a military force eſtabliſhed by law in any part of its dominions; but declared, that it could not be legally employed to enforce implicit and *unlawful* ſubmiſſion. A congreſs might alſo be held, in order to recognize the ſupreme ſovereignty of Great Britain over the colonies, and to ſettle, at the ſame time, an annual revenue upon the crown, diſpoſeable by parliament, and applicable to the exigencies of the nation. On complying with theſe conditions, the acts complained of by congreſs were to be ſuſpended, with every other meaſure pointed out as a grievance, and the conſtitution of their governments to remain as ſettled by their charters. This bill was, however, deemed at once totally inadmiſſible, on account of its alleged partiality to America, by the various conceſſions it enacted, and particularly by empowering the colonies to aſſemble in congreſs; a meaſure which, of all others, was at that time the moſt offenſive, and ſuppoſed to be the moſt injurious to the Britiſh intereſts.

Lord Chatham was by no means deficient in arguments in ſupport of his favourite plan; but theſe, though ſupported by all the powers of eloquence, proved unſucceſsful; the propoſal was ultimately rejected by 61 to 32. So determined were the majority in giving this an entire rejection, that it was not even permitted to lie upon the table; which, however, may be conſidered as a piece of indignity offered to that great man, proceeding rather from the indifference with which he had been received at court for ſome time, than from any real and thorough conviction of the inutility of the plan he propoſed.

In the mean time matters went on from bad to worſe in New England; ſo that it was ſoon perceived either that the friends of government in that colony did not exert themſelves, or that they were far from being ſo numerous as had been imagined. In order to make their coercive plan the more effectual, therefore, it was now judged neceſſary to extend it ſo that every individual of the colony ſhould become ſenſible of the puniſhment. This, it was ſuppoſed, would be done by a bill for reſtraining the four provinces of New England from commerce with Great Britain, Ireland, or the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands; and prohibiting them from carrying on the fiſhery at Newfoundland. The reaſons given for this were in ſubſtance the ſame with thoſe for the others; and indeed both parties had now ſo much exhauſted their arguments, that very little new matter was left for either. Every ſtep taken by miniſtry, and every propoſal made by them, however,

ever, produced a violent debate; and though they conſtantly gained the victory, it was not without the mortification of hearing their principles and conduct reprobated in the moſt opprobrious manner. In the preſent inſtance the bill was carried by 261 againſt 85; but a petition againſt it was quickly offered by the London merchants concerned in the American trade, ſetting forth the danger that would accrue to the fiſheries of Great Britain from ſuch a prohibition.

From the evidence brought in ſupport of this petition it appeared, that ten years before the American fiſheries had been in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate, that the four provinces in New England alone employed near 46,000 ton of ſhipping and 6000 ſeamen; and that the produce of their fiſheries in the foreign markets amounted in the year 1764 to upwards of 320,000l. Since that time they had greatly increaſed; and what rendered the fiſheries particularly valuable was, that all the materials uſed in them, excepting only the timber for building the veſſels, and the ſalt for curing the fiſh, were purchaſed in Britain, and the nett proceeds of the trade were alſo remitted thither. It appeared alſo, that it would not be practicable to transfer theſe fiſheries to Halifax or Quebec, though ever ſo much encouragement were given to either of theſe places, as they had neither veſſels nor people to man them, and would never be able to procure ſupplies of ſeamen from New England on account of the averſion of the inhabitants to the government of theſe two provinces.

Some other circumſtances were likewiſe urged as ſtrong reaſons againſt this bill; particularly the commercial concerns of the city of London with New England (to which alone the colony ſtood indebted for near a million,) and the bad conſequences of it to the people of Nantucket. This is a barren iſland, lying off the coaſt of New England, about 15 miles long, and three broad, containing about 6000 inhabitants, almoſt all quakers. The natural produce of this iſland, it was alleged, could not maintain 20 families; but the induſtry of the inhababitants was ſuch, that they kept 130 veſſels conſtantly employed in the whale-fiſhery, which they carried on in the north ſeas, to the coaſts of Africa and Brazil, and even as far as the Falkland iſlands and the ſhores of Terra Magellanica. Theſe people, it was ſaid, ought undoubtedly to have been exempted from the common calamity, were it only from the applauſe due to ſo much induſtry and reſolution.

The inſtance of Nantucket was ſo ſtrong, that adminiſtration, with all their obſtinacy, were obliged to relax a little; and, of their own accord, afforded them the relief they had ſuch juſt reaſon to expect. That the petition in the main might prove unſucceſsful, however, another was preſented by the inhabitants of Poole, the tenor of which was directly oppoſite to that of the city of London. In this it was ſet forth, that the reſtrictions propoſed by the bill would not prove detrimental to the trade of England, which was fully able, with proper exertions, to ſupply the demands of foreign markets. The advantage of the Newfoundland fiſhery more than that of New England to this country was, that it bred a great number of hardy ſeamen peculiarly fit for the ſervice of the navy, while the New England ſeamen were, by act of parliament, exempt from being preſſed. It appeared alſo from the examination of witneſſes taken in ſupport of this petition, that the fiſhery from Britain to Newfoundland employed about 400 ſhips, amounting to 360,000 tons, and 2000 ſhallops carrying 20,000 tons and navigated by as many ſeamen. Each ſeaſon produced 600,000 quintals of fiſh, and the returns at a moderate rate were valued at 500,000l.

This bill was debated with great animoſity in the houſe of peers, and produced a remarkable proteſt, in which the meaſures of government were ſpoken of with great ſeverity. "That government (ſaid they) which attempts to preſerve its authority by deſtroying the trade of its ſubjects, and by involving the innocent and guilty in a common ruin, if it acts from a choice of ſuch means, confeſſes itſelf unworthy; if from inability to find any other, admits itſelf wholly incompetent to the end of its inſtitution." They alſo reprobated in ſevere terms the aſſertion already mentioned, that the Americans wanted ſpirit to reſiſt, and that Britain would find them an eaſy conqueſt. Such language was repreſented as altogether void of foundation, and the mere effect of party ſpirit and reſentment. It was alſo the more imprudent and unadviſed, as tending, in caſe of coercive meaſures, to ſlacken the care and ſolicitude with which they ought to be purſued, and to occaſion remiſſneſs in thoſe to whom they might be entruſted, from a perſuaſion that the enemy to be encountered was not to be feared and could eaſily be overcome.

The final reſolution of reducing the colonies by force being now taken, it became neceſſary to make proper preparation for the purpoſe; and in this the conduct of adminiſtration was little leſs cenſured than in other reſpects. As the opinion, that the Americans were timid and incapable of becoming ſoldiers, prevailed greatly at that time, a force of 10,000 men was judged ſufficient to reduce the province of New England to obedience. This was vehemently oppoſed by the minority. They inſiſted that the force was totally inadequate, and only calculated to produce expence to no purpoſe. The firſt impreſſion, they very juſtly obſerved, ought to be deciſive, if poſſible; and in order to render it ſo, it was neceſſary to ſend ſuch a fleet and army as might enſure the confidence of the public, and be certainly capable of ſurmounting all obſtacles. Many of the friends of adminiſtration were of the ſame ſentiments in this reſpect; and the only reaſon aſſigned for acting otherwiſe was an hope that the Americans would, upon more mature conſideration, deſiſt from their oppoſition.

That they might the more readily be induced to this ſubmiſſion, Lord North's conciliatory propoſition was formed. By this it was enacted, that when the governor, council, and aſſembly, of any of the colonies, ſhould propoſe to make a proviſion for the common defence, &c. and if ſuch proviſion ſhould be approved of by the king in parliament, the levying or impoſing of taxes on that colony ſhould then be forborne, thoſe duties excepted which it might be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of which ſhould be carried to the account of the colony where it was raiſed. But this propoſal, though highly extolled by the friends of adminiſtration, was no leſs reprobated by minority than the others had been. It was ſaid to be inſidious, and calculated for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue, which was now ſaid to be the object of miniſters. There was no eſſential difference between the preſent and former modes of taxation. The colonies were as effectually taxed without their conſent by requiring them to pay a ſtated ſum, as by laying a number of duties upon them to the ſame amount. There was beſides a capital deficiency in the propoſal, *viz.* that no ſum was ſpecified; ſo that the Americans were left totally ignorant of what the demands of Britain might be. After a long debate, however, the queſtion was carried in favour of adminiſtration by 274 to 88.

As the diſturbances had originated in the province of Maſſachuſett's bay, and there continued with the greateſt violence, ſo this was the province where the firſt hoſtilities were formally commenced. In the beginning of February 1775, the congreſs met at Cambridge; and, as no friends to Britain could now find admittance to that aſſembly, the only conſideration was, how to make ſpeedy preparations for war. Expertneſs in military diſcipline was recommended in the ſtrongeſt manner, and ſeveral military inſtitutions were enacted; among which, that of the minute-men was one of the moſt remarkable. Theſe were choſen from the moſt active and expert among the militia; and their buſineſs was to keep themſelves in conſtant readineſs at the call of their officers; from which perpetual vigilance they derived their title. It was now eaſily ſeen, that a ſlight occaſion would bring on hoſtilities, which could not but be attended with the moſt violent and certain deſtruction to the vanquiſhed party; for both were ſo much exaſperated by a long courſe of reproaches and literary warfare, that they ſeemed to be filled with the utmoſt inveteracy againſt each other.

On the 26th of February, General Gage, having been informed that a number of field-pieces had been brought to Salem, diſpatched a party to ſeize them. Their road was obſtructed by a river, over which was a drawbridge. This the people had pulled up, and refuſed to let down: upon which the ſoldiers ſeized a boat to ferry them over; but the people cut out her bottom. Hoſtilities would immediately have commenced, had it not been for the interpoſition of a clergyman; who repreſented to the military, on the one hand, the folly of oppoſing ſuch numbers; and to the people, on the other, that, as the day was far ſpent, the military could not execute their deſign, ſo that they might, without any fear, leave them the quiet poſſeſſion of the drawbridge. This was complied with; and the ſoldiers, after having remained for ſome time at the bridge, returned without executing their orders.

The next attempt was attended with more ſerious conſequences. General Gage having been informed that a large quantity of ammunition and military ſtores had been collected at Concord, about twenty miles from Boſton, and where the provincial congreſs was ſitting, ſent a detachment, under the command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, to deſtroy the ſtores, and, as was reported, to ſeize Meſſrs. Hancock and Adams, the leading men of the congreſs. They ſet out before day-break, on the 19th of April, marching with the utmoſt ſilence, and ſecuring every one they met on the road, that they might not be diſcovered. But notwithſtanding all their care, the continual ringing of bells and firing of guns as they went along ſoon gave them notice that the country was alarmed. About five in the morning they had reached Lexington, fifteen miles from Boſton, where the militia of the place were exerciſing. An officer called out to them to diſperſe; but ſome ſhots, it is ſaid, being at that moment fired from a houſe in the neighbourhood, the military made a diſcharge, which killed and wounded ſeveral of the militia. The detachment then proceeded to Concord, where, having deſtroyed the ſtores, they were encountered by the Americans; and a ſcuffle enſued, in which ſeveral fell on both ſides. The purpoſe of their expedition being thus accompliſhed, it was neceſſary for the king's troops to retreat, which they did through a continual fire kept upon them from Concord to Lexington. Here their ammunition was expended; and they would have been unavoidably cut off, had not a conſiderable reinforcement, commanded by Lord Percy, luckily met them. The Americans, however, continued their attack with great fury; and the Britiſh would ſtill have been in the utmoſt danger, had it not been for two field-pieces which Lord Percy had brought with him. By theſe the impetuoſity of the Americans was checked, and the Britiſh made good their retreat to Boſton, with the loſs of two hundred and ſixty-three killed and wounded; that of the Americans was eighty-eight.

By this engagement the ſpirits of the Americans were ſo raiſed, that they meditated nothing leſs than the total expulſion of the Britiſh troops from Boſton.

An army of twenty thouſand men was aſſembled, who formed a line of encampment from Roxbury to Myſtic, through a ſpace of about thirty miles; and here they were ſoon after joined by a large body of Connecticut troops, under General Putnam, an old officer of great bravery and experience. By this formidable force was the town of Boſton now kept blocked up. General Gage, however, had ſo ſtrongly fortified it, that the enemy, powerful as they were, durſt not make an attack; while, on the other hand, his force was by far too inſignificant to meet ſuch an enemy in the field. But, towards the end of May, a conſiderable reinforcement having arrived from England, with Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, he prepared to act with more deciſion; while the Americans, on their part, did every thing to oppoſe him.

A conſiderable height, known by the name of *Bunker's-hill*, juſt at the entrance of the peninſula of Charleſtown, was ſo ſituated as to make the poſſeſſion of it a matter of great conſequence to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore, June 16, iſſued by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of one thouſand men ſhould entrench upon this height. By ſome miſtake, *Breed's-hill*, high and large like the other, but ſituated nearer Boſton, was marked out for the intrenchments, inſtead of Bunker's-hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's-hill, and worked with ſo much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a ſmall redoubt about eight rods ſquare. They kept ſuch a profound ſilence, that they were not heard by the Britiſh on-board their veſſels, though very near. Theſe, having derived their firſt information of what was going on from the ſight of the work near completion, began an inceſſant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmneſs, and, though they were only young ſoldiers, continued to labour till they had thrown up a ſmall breaſtwork, extending from the eaſt ſide of the breaſtwork to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boſton, General Gage thought it neceſſary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, therefore, he detached Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigot, with the flower of the army, conſiſting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this buſineſs. Theſe troops landed at Moreton's Point, and, June 17, formed after landing, but remained in that poſition till they were reinforced by a ſecond detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and a battalion of marines, making in the whole near three thouſand men. While the troops who firſt landed were waiting for this reinforcement, the provincials, for their farther ſecurity, pulled up ſome adjoining poſt and rail fences, and ſet them down in two parallel lines at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and filled the ſpace between with hay, which, having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced ſlowly, to give their artillery time to demoliſh the American works. While the Britiſh were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charleſtown. This was not done becauſe they were fired upon from the houſes in that town, but from the military policy of depriving enemies of a cover in their approaches. In a ſhort time this ancient town, conſiſting of about five hundred buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The lofty ſteeple of the meeting-houſe formed a pyramid of fire above the reſt, and ſtruck the aſtoniſhed eyes of numerous beholders with a magnificent but awful ſpectacle. In Boſton the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and ſuch of the king's troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country, which afforded a ſafe and diſtinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country.

Thouſands, both within and without Boſton, were anxious ſpectators of the bloody ſcene. The honour of Britiſh troops beat high in the breaſts of many, while others, with a keener ſenſibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The Britiſh moved on but ſlowly, which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter, in general, reſerved themſelves till their adverſaries were within ten or twelve rods, but then began a furious diſcharge of ſmall arms. The ſtream of the American fire was ſo inceſſant, and did ſo great execution, that the king's troops retreated in diſorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and puſhed them forward with their ſwords, but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The Americans again reſerved their fire till their adverſaries were near, and then put them a ſecond time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were at laſt ſucceſsful, though the ſoldiers diſcovered a great averſion to going on. By this time the powder of the Americans began to fail. The Britiſh alſo brought ſome cannon to bear, which raked the inſide of the breaſtwork from end to end: the fire from the ſhips, batteries, and field artillery, was redoubled. The redoubt was attacked on three ſides at once. Under theſe circumſtances a retreat from it was ordered, but the provincials delayed, and made reſiſtance with their diſcharged muſkets as if they had been clubs, ſo long, that the king's troops, who eaſily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt before it was given up to them.

While theſe operations were going on at the breaſtwork and redoubt, the Britiſh light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the moſt undaunted courage, they met with an oppoſition which called for its greateſt exertions. The provincials here, in like manner, reſerved their fire till their adverſaries were near, and then poured it upon the light infantry, in ſo true a direction, as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both ſides with great reſolution. The perſevering exertions of the king's troops could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they obſerved that their main body had left the hill. This, when begun, expoſed them to new danger, for it could not be effected but by marching over Charleſtown Neck, every part of which was raked by the ſhot of the Glaſgow man of war, and two floating batteries. The inceſſant fire kept up acroſs this neck prevented any conſiderable reinforcement from joining their countrymen who were engaged; but the few who fell on their retreat over the ſame ground proved, that the apprehenſions of thoſe provincial officers, who declined paſſing over to ſuccour their companions, were without any ſolid foundation.

The number of Americans engaged amounted only to one thouſand five hundred. It was apprehended that the conquerors would puſh the advantages they had gained, and march immediately to American head-quarters at Cambridge, but they advanced no farther than Bunker's-hill; there they threw up works for their own ſecurity. The provincials did the ſame on Proſpect-hill in front of them. Both were guarding againſt an attack, and both were in a bad condition to receive one. The loſs of the peninſula depreſſed the ſpirits of the Americans, and their great loſs of men produced the ſame effect on the Britiſh. There have been few battles in modern wars, in which, all circumſtances conſidered, there was a greater deſtruction of men than in this ſhort engagement. The loſs of the Britiſh, as acknowledged by General Gage, amounted to one thouſand and fifty-four. Nineteen commiſſioned officers were killed, and ſeventy more were wounded. The battle of Quebec in 1759, which gave Great Britain the province of Canada, was not ſo deſtructive to Britiſh officers as this affair of a ſlight entrenchment, the work only of a few hours. That the officers ſuffered ſo much, muſt be imputed to their being aimed at. None of the provincials in this engagement were riflemen, but they were all good markſmen. The whole of their previous military knowledge had been derived from hunting, and the ordinary amuſements of ſportſmen. The dexterity which by long habit they had acquired in hitting beaſts, birds, and marks, was fatally applied to the deſtruction of Britiſh officers. From their fall much confuſion was expected; they were therefore particularly ſingled out. Moſt of thoſe who were near the perſon of General Howe were either killed or wounded, but the general, though he greatly expoſed himſelf, remained unhurt. The light infantry and grenadiers loſt three-fourths of their men. Of one company not more than five, and of another not more than fourteen, eſcaped. The unexpected reſiſtance of the Americans was ſuch as wiped away the reproaches of cowardice, which had been caſt on them by their enemies in Britain. The ſpirited conduct of the Britiſh officers merited and obtained great applauſe; but the provincials were juſtly entitled to a large portion of the fame, for having made the utmoſt exertions of their adverſaries neceſſary to diſlodge them from lines, which were the work only of a ſingle night. The Americans loſt five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine. The wounded and miſſing to three hundred and fourteen. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of General Warren.

This action of Breed's-hill, or Bunker's hill, as it has been commonly called, produced many and very important conſequences. The ſame determined ſpirit of reſiſtance now every where appeared on the part of the Americans. The commencement of hoſtilities at Lexington determined the colony of New York, which had hitherto continued to waver, to unite with the reſt; and, as the ſituation of New York renders it unable to reſiſt an attack from the ſea, it was reſolved, before the arrival of a Britiſh fleet, to ſecure the military ſtores, ſend off the women and children, and to ſet fire to the city if it was ſtill found incapable of defence. The exportation of proviſions was every where prohibited, particularly to the Britiſh fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or to ſuch colonies of America as ſhould adhere to the Britiſh intereſt. Congreſs reſolved on the eſtabliſhment of an army, and of a large paper currency in order to ſupport it. In the inland northern colonies, Colonels Eaſton and Ethan Allen, without receiving any orders from congreſs, or communicating their deſign to any body, with a party of only two hundred and fifty men, ſurpriſed the forts of Crown Point, Ticonderago, and the reſt that form a communication betwixt the colonies and Canada. On this occaſion two hundred pieces of cannon fell into their hands, beſides mortars and a large quantity of military ſtores, together with two armed veſſels, and materials for the conſtruction of others.

After the battle of Bunker's-hill, the provincials erected fortifications on the heights which commanded Charleſtown, and ſtrengthened the reſt in ſuch a manner that there was no hope of driving them from thence; at the ſame time that their activity and boldneſs aſtoniſhed their adverſaries, who had been accuſtomed to entertain too mean an opinion of their courage.

The Britiſh troops, thus ſhut up in Boſton, were ſoon reduced to diſtreſs. Their neceſſities obliged them to attempt the carrying off the American cattle on the iſlands before Boſton, which produced frequent ſkirmiſhes; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of theſe ſhores, landed on the iſlands, deſtroyed or carried off whatever was of any uſe, burned the light-houſe at the entrance of the harbour, and took priſoners the workmen ſent to repair it, as well as a party of marines who guarded them. Thus the garriſon was reduced to the neceſſity of ſending out armed veſſels to make prizes indiſcriminately of all that came in their way, and of landing in different places to plunder for ſubſiſtence as well as they could.

The congreſs in the mean time continued to act with all the vigour which its conſtituents had expected. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up and ſolemnly agreed upon; and they proceeded formally to juſtify their conduct, in a declaration drawn up in terms remarkably expreſſive, and well calculated to excite attention.

" Were it poſſible," ſaid they, " for men who exerciſe their reaſon, to believe that the divine Author of our exiſtence intended a part of the human race to hold an abſolute property in and unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodneſs and wiſdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully reſiſtible, however ſevere and oppreſſive; the inhabitants of theſe colonies might at leaſt require from the parliament of Great Britain ſome evidence that this dreadful authority over them had been granted to that body; but a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common ſenſe, muſt convince all thoſe who reflect upon the ſubject, that government was inſtituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be adminiſtered for the attainment of that end.

" The legiſlature of Great Britain, however, ſtimulated by an inordinate paſſion for power, not only unjuſtifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very conſtitution of that kingdom, and deſpairing of ſucceſs in any mode of conteſt where regard ſhould be had to law, truth, or right; have at length, deſerting thoſe, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpoſe of enſlaving theſe colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it neceſſary for us to cloſe with their laſt appeal from reaſon to arms. Yet, however blinded that aſſembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, ſo to ſlight juſtice in the opinion of mankind, we eſteem ourſelves bound by obligations to the reſt of the world to make known the juſtice of our cauſe."

After taking notice of the manner in which their anceſtors left Britain, the happineſs attending the mutual friendly commerce betwixt that country and her colonies, and the remarkable ſucceſs of the late war, they proceed as follows: "The new miniſtry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet ſtill contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a haſty peace, and of then ſubduing her faithful friends.

"Theſe devoted colonies were judged to be in ſuch a ſtate as to preſent victories without bloodſhed, and all the eaſy emoluments of ſtatutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and reſpectful behaviour from the beginning of their colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and uſeful, ſervices during the war, though ſo recently and amply acknowledged in the moſt honourable manner by his majeſty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not ſave them from the intended innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and, aſſuming a new power over them, has in the courſe of eleven years given ſuch deciſive ſpecimens of the ſpirit and conſequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects of acquieſcence under it.

"They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our conſent, though we have ever exerciſed an excluſive right to diſpoſe of our own property. Statutes have been paſſed for extending the juriſdiction of the courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accuſtomed and ineſtimable right of trial by jury, in caſes affecting both life and property; for ſuſpending the legiſlature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government eſtabliſhed by charter, ſecured by acts of its own legiſlature, and ſolemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the murderers of coloniſts from legal trials, and in effect from puniſhment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a deſpotiſm dangerous to our very exiſtence; and for quartering ſoldiers upon the coloniſts in time of a profound peace. It has alſo been reſolved in parliament, that coloniſts charged with committing certain offences ſhall be tranſported to England to be tried.

" But why ſhould we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one ſtatute it was declared, that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all caſes whatever. What is to defend us againſt ſo enormous, ſo unlimited, a power? Not a ſingle perſon who aſſumes it is choſen by us, or is ſubject to our controul or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of ſuch laws; and the American revenue, if not diverted from the oſtenſible purpoſes for which it is raiſed, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as it increaſes ours.

" We ſaw the miſery to which ſuch deſpotiſm would reduce us. We for ten years inceſſantly and ineffectually beſieged the throne as ſupplicants; we reaſoned, we remonſtrated with parliament in the moſt mild and decent language; but adminiſtration, ſenſible that we ſhould regard theſe meaſures as freemen ought to do, ſent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

" We have purſued every temperate, every reſpectful, meaſure; we have even proceeded to break off all commercial intercourſe with our fellow-ſubjects as our laſt peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth would ſupplant our attachment to liberty: this we flattered ourſelves was the ultimate ſtep of the controverſy; but ſubſequent events have ſhewn how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies!

"The lords and commons, in their addreſs in the month of February, ſaid, that a rebellion at that time actually exiſted in the province of Maſſachuſett's-bay; and that thoſe concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his majeſty's ſubjects in ſeveral of the colonies; and therefore they beſought his majeſty that he would take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature. Soon after, the commercial intercourſe of whole colonies with foreign countries was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, ſeveral of them were entirely prohibited from the fiſheries in the ſeas near their coaſts, on which they always depended for their ſubſiſtence; and large reinforcements of ſhips and troops were immediately ſent over to General Gage.

"Fruitleſs were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence, of an illuſtrious band of the moſt diſtinguiſhed peers and commoners, who nobly and ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the juſtice of our cauſe, to ſtay, or even to mitigate, the heedleſs fury with which theſe accumulated outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitleſs was the interference of the city of London, of Briſtol, and of many other reſpectable towns, in our favour."

After having reproached parliament, General Gage, and the Britiſh government in general, they proceeded thus: "We are reduced to the alternative of chooſing an unconditional ſubmiſſion to tyranny, or reſiſtance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the coſt of this conteſt, and find nothing ſo dreadful as voluntary ſlavery. Honour, juſtice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to ſurrender that freedom which we received from our gallant anceſtors, and which our innocent poſterity have a right to receive from us. Our cauſe is juſt; our union is perfect; our internal reſources are great; and, if neceſſary, foreign aſſiſtance is undoubtedly attainable. We fight not for glory or conqueſt; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable ſpectacle of people attacked by unprovoked enemies. They boaſt of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than ſervitude or death. In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property acquired by the honeſt induſtry of our forefathers and our own, againſt violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we ſhall lay them down when hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on the part of our aggreſſors, and all danger of their being renewed ſhall be removed, —and not before."

Theſe are ſome of the moſt ſtriking paſſages in the declaration of congreſs on taking up arms againſt Great Britain, dated July 6, 1775. Without enquiring whether the principles on which it is founded are right or wrong, the determined ſpirit which it ſhews ought to have convinced us, that the conqueſt of America was an event ſcarcely ever to be expected. In every other reſpect an equal ſpirit was ſhewn; and the rulers of the Britiſh nation had the mortification to ſee thoſe whom they ſtyled *rebels* and *traitors* ſucceed in negociations in which they themſelves were utterly foiled. In the paſſing of the Quebec-bill, miniſtry had flattered themſelves that the Canadians would be ſo much attached to them on account of reſtoring the French laws, that they would very readily join in any attempt againſt the coloniſts who had reprobated that bill in ſuch ſtrong terms; but in this they found themſelves deceived. A ſcheme had been formed for General Carleton, governor of the province, to raiſe an army of Canadians wherewith to act againſt the Americans: and, ſo ſanguine were the hopes of adminiſtration

tion in this reſpect, that they had ſent twenty thouſand ſtand of arms, and a great quantity of military ſtores, to Quebec for the purpoſe. But the people, though they did not join the Americans, yet were found immoveable in their purpoſe to ſtand neuter. The Britiſh adminiſtration next tried to engage the Indians in their cauſe. But, though agents were diſperſed among them with large preſents to the chiefs, the greateſt part replied, that they did not underſtand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they diſtinguiſh whether thoſe who dwelt in America or on the other ſide of the ocean were in fault; but that they were ſurpriſed to ſee Engliſhmen aſk their aſſiſtance againſt one another; and adviſed them to be reconciled, and not to think of ſhedding the blood of their brethren. To the repreſentations of congreſs they paid more reſpect. Theſe ſet forth, that the Engliſh on the other ſide of the ocean had taken up arms to enſlave not only their countrymen in America, but the Indians alſo; and, if the latter ſhould enable them to overcome the coloniſts, they themſelves would ſoon be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery alſo. By arguments of this kind moſt of the ſavages were engaged to remain neuter; and thus the coloniſts were freed from a dangerous enemy. On this occaſion the congreſs thought proper to hold a ſolemn conference with the different tribes of Indians. The ſpeech made by them on the occaſion is curious, but too long to be fully inſerted. The following is a ſpecimen of the European mode of addreſſing theſe people:

" Brothers, ſachems, and warriors! We, the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, now ſitting in general congreſs at Philadelphia, ſend their talk to you our brothers.

" Brothers and friends, now attend! When our fathers croſſed the great water, and came over to this land, the King of England gave them a talk, aſſuring them that they and their children ſhould be his children;

dren; and that if they would leave their native country, and make ſettlements, and live here, and buy and ſell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they ſhould ſtill keep hold of the ſame covenant-chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houſes, goods, and poſſeſſions, which our fathers ſhould acquire, ſhould remain to them as their own, and be their children's for ever, and at their ſole diſpoſal.

" Brothers and friends, open a kind ear! We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counſellors of King George and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

" Many of his counſellors have perſuaded him to break the covenant-chain, and not to ſend us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant againſt us; and have torn aſunder, and caſt behind their back, the good old covenant which their anceſtors and ours entered into, and took ſtrong hold of. They now tell us they will put their hands into our pocket without aſking, as though it were their own; and at their pleaſure they will take from us our charters, or written civil conſtitution, which we love as our lives; alſo our plantations, our houſes, and goods, whenever they pleaſe, without aſking our leave. They tell us, that our veſſels may go to that or this iſland in the ſea, but to this or that particular iſland we ſhall not trade any more; and, in caſe of our non-compliance with theſe new orders, they ſhut up our harbours.

" Brothers, we live on the ſame ground with you; the ſame iſland is our common birth-place. We deſire to ſit down under the ſame tree of peace with you; let us water its roots, and cheriſh the growth, till the large leaves and flouriſhing branches ſhall extend to the ſetting ſun, and reach the ſkies. If any thing diſagreeable ſhould ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately ſeek meaſures for healing the breach. From the preſent ſituation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle up a ſmall fire at Albany, where we may hear each other's voice, and diſcloſe our minds fully to one another."

The other remarkable tranſactions of this congreſs were the ultimate refuſal of the conciliatory propoſal made by Lord North, of which ſuch ſanguine expectations had been formed by the Engliſh miniſtry; and appointing a generaliſſimo to command their armies, which were now very numerous. The perſon choſen for this purpoſe was General Waſhington; a man ſo univerſally beloved, that he was raiſed to ſuch an high ſtation by the unanimous voice of congreſs: and his ſubſequent conduct ſhewed him every way worthy of it. Horace Gates and Charles Lee, two Engliſh officers of conſiderable reputation, were alſo choſen; the former an adjutant-general, the ſecond a major-general. Artemus Ward, Philip Schuyler, and Iſrael Putman, were likewiſe nominated major-generals. Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooſter, William Heath, Joſeph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Green, were choſen brigadier-generals at the ſame time.

The ſucceſs which had hitherto attended the Americans in all their meaſures, now emboldened them to think not only of defending themſelves, but likewiſe of acting offenſively againſt Great Britain. The conqueſt of Canada appeared an object within their reach, and one that would be attended with many advantages; and, as an invaſion of that province was already facilitated by the taking of Crown Point and Ticonderago, it was reſolved if poſſible to penetrate that way into Canada, and reduce Quebec during the winter, before the fleets and armies, which they were well aſſured would ſail thither from Britain, ſhould arrive. By order of congreſs, therefore, three thouſand men were put under the command of Generals Montgomery and

Schuyler, with orders to proceed to lake Champlain, from whence they were to be conveyed in flat-bottomed boats to the mouth of the river Sorel, a branch of the great river St. Lawrence, and on which is ſituated a fort of the ſame name with the river. On the other hand, they were oppoſed by General Carleton, governor of Canada; an officer of great activity and experience in war: who, with a very few troops, had hitherto been able to keep in awe the diſaffected people of Canada, notwithſtanding all the repreſentations of the coloniſts. He had now augmented his army by a conſiderable number of Indians, and promiſed even in his preſent ſituation to make a formidable reſiſtance.

As ſoon as General Montgomery arrived at Crown Point, he received information that ſeveral armed veſſels were ſtationed at St. John's, a ſtrong fort on the Sorel, with a view to prevent his croſſing the lake; on which he took poſſeſſion of an iſland that commands the mouth of the Sorel, and by which he could prevent them from entering the lake. In conjunction with General Schuyler, he next proceeded to St. John's; but, finding that place too ſtrong, he landed on a part of the country conſiderably diſtant, and full of woods and ſwamps. From thence, however, they were driven by a party of Indians whom General Carleton had employed.

The provincial army was now obliged to retreat to the iſland, of which they at firſt took poſſeſſion; where General Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left to command alone. His firſt ſtep was to gain over the Indians whom General Carleton had employed, and this he in a great meaſure accompliſhed; after which he determined to lay ſiege to St. John's. In this he was facilitated by the reduction of Chamblee, a ſmall fort in the neighbourhood, where he found a large ſupply of powder. An attempt was made by General Carleton to relieve the place; for which purpoſe he, with great pains, collected about a thouſand

Canadians, while Colonel Maclean propoſed to raiſe a regiment of the Highlanders who had emigrated from their own country to America. But while General Carleton was on his march with theſe new levies, he was attacked by a ſuperior force of provincials, and utterly defeated; which being made known to another body of Canadians who had joined Colonel Maclean, they abandoned him without ſtriking a blow, and he was obliged to retreat to Quebec.

The defeat of General Carleton was a ſufficient recompence to the Americans for that of Colonel Ethan Allen which had happened a little before. The ſucceſs which had attended this gentleman againſt Crown Point and Ticonderago had emboldened him to make a ſimilar attempt on Montreal; but, being attacked by the militia of the place, ſupported by a detachment of regulars, he was entirely defeated, and taken priſoner.

General Carleton's defeat, and the deſertion of Maclean's forces, induced the garriſon of St. John's to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; and they were treated with great humanity. They were in number five hundred regulars and two hundred Canadians, among whom were many French nobles. General Montgomery next took meaſures to prevent the Britiſh ſhipping from paſſing down the river from Montreal to Quebec. This he accompliſhed ſo effectually, that the whole were taken. The town itſelf was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion: and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that General Carleton eſcaped in an open boat by the favour of a dark night.

No obſtacle now remained to prevent the Americans from making their way to the capital, except what aroſe from the nature of the country; and theſe were very conſiderable. Nothing, however, could damp the ardour of the provincials. Notwithſtanding it was now the middle of November, and the depth of winter was at hand, Colonel Arnold formed a deſign of penetrating through woods, moraſſes, and the moſt frightful ſolitudes, from New England to Canada, by a nearer way than that which Montgomery had choſen; and this he accompliſhed in ſpite of every difficulty, to the aſtoniſhment of all who ſaw or heard of the attempt. This deſperate march, however, cannot be looked upon as conducive to any good purpoſe. A third part of his men under another colonel had abandoned him by the way, under pretence of want of proviſions; the total want of artillery rendered his preſence inſignificant before a place ſtrongly fortified; and the ſmallneſs of his army rendered it even doubtful whether he could have taken the town by ſurpriſe. The Canadians indeed were amazed at the exploit, and their inclination to revolt from Britain was ſomewhat augmented; but none of them as yet took up arms in behalf of America. The conſternation into which the town of Quebec was thrown, proved detrimental rather than otherwiſe to the expedition, as it doubled the vigilance and activity of the inhabitants to prevent any ſurpriſe; and the appearance of common danger united all parties, who, before the arrival of Arnold, were contending moſt violently with one another. He was therefore obliged to content himſelf with blocking up the avenues to the town, in order to diſtreſs the garriſon for want of proviſions; and even this he was unable to do effectually, by reaſon of the ſmall number of his men. The matter was not much mended by the arrival of General Montgomery. The force he had with him, even when united to that of Arnold, was too inſignificant to attempt the reduction of a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, eſpecially with the aſſiſtance only of a few mortars and field-pieces.

After the ſiege had continued through the month of December, General Montgomery, conſcious that he could accompliſh his end no other way than by ſurpriſe, reſolved to make an attempt on the laſt day of the year 1775. The method he took at this time was perhaps the beſt that human wiſdom could deviſe. He advanced by break of day, in the midſt of an heavy fall of ſnow, which covered his men from the ſight of the enemy. Two real attacks were made by himſelf and Colonel Arnold at the ſame time that two feigned attacks were made on two other places, thus to diſtract the garriſon, and make them divide their forces. One of the real attacks was made by the people of New York, and the other by thoſe of New England under Arnold. Their hopes of ſurpriſing the place, however, were defeated by the ſignal for the attack being, through ſome miſtake, given too ſoon. General Montgomery himſelf had the moſt dangerous place, being obliged to paſs between the river and ſome high rocks on which the Upper Town ſtands; ſo that he was forced to make what haſte he could to cloſe with the enemy. His fate, however, was now decided. Having forced the firſt barrier, a violent diſcharge of muſquetry and grape-ſhot from the ſecond killed him, his principal officers, and the moſt of the party he commanded; on which thoſe who remained immediately retreated. Arnold's party, about ſeven hundred in number, were for ſome time more ſucceſsful. In leſs than an hour they forced the firſt and ſecond barriers of that quarter againſt which their attack was directed. Arnold's leg being ſhattered by a muſket-ball very early in the engagement, he was carried off to the camp; but his place was well ſupplied by the ſkilful exertions of the other officers, and the reſolution of the men, who, knowing nothing of Montgomery's miſfortune, puſhed on with unabated ardour, and were actually applying ladders to the third barrier, when they received a ſudden and irrecoverable check. The main force of the garriſon, now relieved from other objects, was turned againſt this bold party of aſſailants; and, whilſt they were already fully occupied in front, a large detachment with ſeveral field-pieces poured upon their rear, and compelled them, after an obſtinate reſiſtance for three hours, to lay down their arms.

The priſoners were treated with the greateſt humanity by the governor, whoſe ſkill and courage during the whole conflict merited every eulogium. The ſhattered remains of the beſiegers, who were reduced to about ſeven hundred, immediately quitted their camp, and retired three miles farther from the city, where they ſtrengthened their quarters in the beſt manner they were able, being apprehenſive of a purſuit from the garriſon. The latter, however, though the action made them greatly ſuperior in number, were unfit for a ſervice of that nature; and their able governor, with a degree of wiſdom and ſobriety equal to his intrepidity and firmneſs, contented himſelf with the advantage and ſecurity he had gained, without hazarding the fate of the province in any raſh adventure.

Such was the iſſue of this enterpriſe againſt Quebec, planned by the congreſs, and of the ſucceſs of which they had formed the moſt ſanguine expectations. Their mortification at its failure was particularly aggravated by the loſs of Montgomery, whom they looked upon as ſecond only to Waſhington in military genius. This brave but unfortunate officer was a native of Ireland, and had ſerved with great applauſe in the late war. The excellency of his qualities and diſpoſition had procured him an uncommon ſhare of private affection, as his abilities had of public eſteem. Having married a lady and purchaſed an eſtate in New York, he was from thence induced to conſider himſelf as an American, and to devote his talents to the ſervice of the congreſs, who gave him the rank of brigadier-general. His conduct in the expedition to Canada was equally ſpirited and judicious; and his heroiſm in the laſt ſcene ſhone forth with increaſing luſtre. His body being found the day after the attack, was interred with all military and funeral honours by General Carleton, who had the magnanimity to eſteem and acknowledge ſuch eminent merit even in an enemy.

While hoſtilities were thus carried on with vigour in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itſelf in the ſouth. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in diſputes ſimilar to thoſe which had taken place in other colonies. Theſe had proceeded ſo far, that the aſſembly was diſſolved; which in this province was attended with a conſequence unknown to the reſt. As Virginia contained a great number of ſlaves, it was neceſſary that a militia ſhould be conſtantly embodied to keep them in awe. During the diſſolution of the aſſembly the militia laws expired; and the people, after complaining of the danger they were in from the negroes, formed a convention, which enacted that each county ſhall raiſe a quota for the defence of the province. Dunmore, on this, removed the powder from Williamſburg; which created ſuch diſcontents, that an immediate quarrel would probably have enſued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain ſatisfaction for the injury ſuppoſed to be done to the community. This tranquillity, however, was ſoon interrupted: the people, alarmed by a report that an armed party were on their way from the man of war where the powder had been depoſited, aſſembled in arms, and determined to oppoſe by force any farther removals. In ſome of the conferences which paſſed at this time, the governor let fall ſome unguarded expreſſions, ſuch as threatening them with ſetting up the royal ſtandard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, deſtroying the town of Williamſburg, &c. which were afterwards made public, and exaggerated in ſuch a manner as greatly to increaſe the public ferment.

In this ſtate of confuſion the governor thought it neceſſary to fortify his palace with artillery, and procure a party of marines to guard it. Lord North's conciliatory propoſal arriving alſo about the ſame time, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to cauſe the peoto comply with it. The arguments he uſed were ſuch as muſt do him honour; and, had not matters already gone to ſuch a pitch of diſtraction, it is highly probable that ſome attention would have been paid to them: "The view (he ſaid) in which the colonies ought to behold this conciliatory propoſal, was no more than an earneſt admonition from Great Britain to relieve her wants; that the utmoſt condeſcenſion had been uſed in the mode of application; no determinate ſum having been fixed, as it was thought more worthy of Britiſh generoſity to take what they thought could be conveniently ſpared, and likewiſe to leave the mode of raiſing it to themſelves, &c." But the clamour and diſſatisfaction were now ſo univerſal, that nothing elſe could be attended to. The governor had called an aſſembly for the purpoſe of laying this conciliatory propoſal before them; but it had been little attended to. The aſſembly began their ſeſſion by enquiries into the ſtate of the magazine. It had been broken into by ſome of the townſmen; for which reaſon ſpring-guns had been placed there by the governor, which diſcharged themſelves upon the offenders at their entrance: theſe circumſtances, with others of a ſimilar kind, raiſed ſuch a violent uproar, that, as ſoon as the preliminary buſineſs of the ſeſſion was over, the governor retired on-board the Fowey man-of-war, informing the aſſembly that he durſt no longer truſt himſelf on-ſhore. This produced a long courſe of diſputation, which ended in a poſitive refuſal of the governor to truſt himſelf again in Williamſburg, even to give his aſſent to the bills, which could not be paſſed without it, though the aſſembly offered to bind themſelves for his perſonal ſafety. In his turn he requeſted them to meet him on-board the man of war where he then was; but this propoſal was rejected, and all further correſpondence containing the leaſt appearance of friendſhip was diſcontinued.

Lord Dunmore, thus deprived of his goverment, attempted to reduce by force thoſe whom he could no longer govern. Some of the moſt ſtrenuous adherents to the Britiſh cauſe, whom their zeal had rendered obnoxious at home, now repaired to him. He was alſo joined by numbers of black ſlaves. With theſe, and the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh ſhipping, he was for ſome time enabled to carry on a kind of predatory war, ſufficient to hurt and exaſperate, but not to ſubdue. After ſome inconſiderable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the ſlaves, and ſetting up the royal ſtandard, he took up his reſidence at Norfolk, a maritime town of ſome conſequence, where the people were better affected to Britain than in moſt other places. A conſiderable force, however, was collected againſt him; and, the natural impetuoſity of his temper prompting him to act againſt them with more courage than caution, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire to his ſhipping, which was now crowded by the number of thoſe who had incurred the reſentment of the provincials.

In the mean time a ſcheme of the utmoſt magnitude and importance was formed by one Mr. Conolly, a Pennſylvanian, of an intrepid and aſpiring diſpoſition, and attached to the cauſe of Britain. The firſt ſtep of this plan was to enter into a league with the Ohio Indians. This he communicated to Lord Dunmore, and it received his approbation; upon which Conolly ſet out, and actually ſucceeded in his deſign. On his return, he was diſpatched to General Gage, from whom he received a colonel's commiſſion, and ſet out in order to accompliſh the remainder of his ſcheme. The plan in general was, that he ſhould return to the Ohio, where, by the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh and Indians in theſe parts, he was to penetrate through the back ſettlements into Virginia, and join Lord Dunmore at Alexandria; but by an accident very naturally to be expected, he was diſcovered, taken priſoner, and thrown into a dungeon.

After the retreat of Lord Dunmore from Norfolk, that place was taken poſſeſſion of by the provincials, who treated the royaliſts that had remained there with great cruelty; at the ſame time that they greatly diſtreſſed thoſe on-board Lord Dunmore's fleet by refuſing to ſupply them with any neceſſaries. Nor was this all: the vicinity of the ſhipping was ſo great, as to afford the riflemen an opportunity of aiming at the people on-board, and exerciſing the cruel occupation of killing them, in which they did not fail every day to employ themſelves. Theſe proceedings at laſt drew a remonſtrance from his lordſhip; in which he inſiſted, that the fleet ſhould be furniſhed with neceſſaries, and that the ſoldiers ſhould deſiſt from the cruel diverſion above-mentioned; but, both theſe requeſts being denied, a reſolution was taken to ſet fire to the town. After giving the inhabitants a proper warning, a party landed, under cover of a man of war, and ſet fire to that part which lay neareſt the ſhore; but the flames were obſerved at the ſame time, to break forth in every other quarter, and the whole town was reduced to aſhes. This univerſal deſtruction, by which a loſs of more than 300,000l. was incurred, is ſaid to have been occaſioned by order of the congreſs itſelf, that the royaliſts might find no refuge there for the future.

In the ſouthern colonies of Carolina, the governors were expelled, and obliged to take refuge on-board the men of war, as Lord Dunmore had been: among others, Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, was expelled, on a charge of attempting to raiſe the back ſettlers, conſiſting chiefly of Scots Highlanders, againſt the colony. Having ſecured themſelves againſt any attempts from theſe enemies, they proceeded to regulate their internal concerns in the ſame manner as the reſt of the colonies; and, by the end of the year 1775, Britain beheld the whole of America united againſt her in the moſt determined oppoſition. Her vaſt poſſeſſions of that tract of land, ſince known by the name of the Thirteen United States, were now reduced to the ſingle town of Boſton; in which her forces were beſieged by an enemy with whom they were apparently not able to cope, and by whom they muſt of courſe expect in a very ſhort time to be expelled. The ſituation of the inhabitants of Boſton, indeed, was peculiarly unhappy. After having failed in their attempts to leave the town, General Gage had conſented to allow them to retire with their effects; but afterwards, for what reaſon does not well appear, he refuſed to fulfil his promiſe. When he reſigned his place to General Howe, in October 1775, the latter, apprehenſive that they might give intelligence of the ſituation of the Britiſh troops, ſtrictly prohibited every perſon from leaving the place, under pain of military execution. Thus matters continued till the month of March, 1776, when the town was evacuated.

On the ſecond of that month, General Waſhington opened a battery on the weſt ſide of the town, from whence it was bombarded with a heavy fire of cannon at the ſame time; and three days after it was attacked by another battery from the eaſtern ſhore. This terrible attack continued for fourteen days without intermiſſion; when General Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, determined if poſſible to drive the enemy from their works. Preparations were therefore made for a moſt vigorous attack on a hill called Dorcheſter Neck, which the Americans had fortified in ſuch a manner as would in all probability have rendered the enterprize next to deſperate. No difficulties, however, were ſufficient to daunt the ſpirit of the general; and every thing was in readineſs, when a ſudden ſtorm prevented this intended exertion of Britiſh valour. Next day, upon a more cloſe inſpection of the works they were to attack, it was thought adviſable to deſiſt from the enterprize altogether. The fortifications were very ſtrong, and extremely well provided with artillery: and, beſides other implements of deſtruction, upwards of one hundred hogſheads of ſtones were provided to roll down upon the enemy as they came up; which, as the aſcent was extremely ſteep, muſt have done prodigious execution.

Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to think of a retreat; and even this was attended with the utmoſt difficulty and danger. The Americans, knowing that it was in the power of the Britiſh general to reduce the town to aſhes, which could not have been repaired in many years, did not think proper to give the leaſt moleſtation; and, for the ſpace of a fortnight, the troops were employed in the evacuation of the place, from whence they carried along with them two thouſand of the inhabitants, who durſt not ſtay on account of their attachment to the Britiſh cauſe. From Boſton they ſailed to Halifax; but all their vigilance could not prevent a number of valuable ſhips from falling into the hands of the enemy. A conſiderable quantity of cannon and ammunition had alſo been left at Bunker's-hill and Boſton Neck; and, in the town, an immenſe variety of goods, principally woollen and linen, of which the provincials ſtood very much in need. The eſtates of thoſe who fled to Halifax were confiſcated; as alſo thoſe who were attached to government, and had remained in the town. As an attack was expected as ſoon as the Britiſh forces ſhould arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications, already very ſtrong, impregnable. For this purpoſe ſome foreign engineers were employed, who had before arrived at Boſton; and ſo eager were people of all ranks to accompliſh this buſineſs, that every able-bodied man in the place, without diſtinction of rank, ſet apart two days in the week to complete it the ſooner.

During theſe proceedings on the other ſide of the Atlantic, no little agitation prevailed in the mother country. The public opinion began to be very much divided on the expediency and final effects of coercive meaſures, againſt which a loud clamour was raiſed not only by the friends of the oppoſition, but by ſeveral mercantile bodies, whoſe private intereſts are not eaſily reconciled with the juſtice or neceſſity of *any* war. The city of London in particular, impelled by faction as well as by apprehenſions of a decline of trade, had, in the latter end of February, petitioned parliament againſt the bills relating to America; and in the beginning of April preſented a remonſtrance to the throne on the ſame ſubject, which being chiefly drawn up by the ſuggeſtions of Mr. Wilkes, then lord mayor, ſurpaſſed all the former remonſtrances, however diſreſpectful, in the inſolence of the language, and the tendency of the ſentiments it conveyed. The king, in his anſwer, expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment to find any of his ſubjects capable of encouraging the rebellious diſpoſition which exiſted in the colonies. In a few days after, Mr. Wilkes received a letter from the lord chamberlain, acquainting him, as chief magiſtrate of the city of London, that his majeſty would not, in future, receive on the throne any addreſs, remonſtrance, or petition, of the lord mayor and aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. Mr. Wilkes laid this letter, as well as his majeſty's anſwer to the remonſtrance, before the midſummer meeting of the citizens for the election of their annual officers; and ſeveral reſolutions were then propoſed and agreed to, in one of which it was declared, that the adviſers of ſuch a meſſage were enemies to the right of the ſubject to petition the throne; and that the advice was calculated to intercept the complaints of the people to their ſovereign, to prevent a redreſs of grievances, and alienate the minds of Engliſhmen from the Hanoverian ſucceſſion. Another remonſtrance was alſo concurred in, equalling the late one in its moſt obnoxious parts, and deſiring his majeſty to conſider, "what the ſituation of his people here muſt be, who had nothing now to expect from America, but gazettes of blood, and mutual liſts of their ſlaughtered fellow-ſubjects." It was farther reſolved, "that this addreſs ſhould not be preſented, unleſs it was received ſitting on the throne;" but the king, by whoſe order the ſheriffs were informed that it was his majeſty's pleaſure to receive it at the levee, being told of the reſolution of the common-hall, replied, " I am ready to receive addreſſes and petitions; but I am the judge where."

It had been repreſented as very probable, during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, that the bill for depriving the people of New England of the benefits of the Newfoundland fiſheries, would redound greatly to the intereſt of Great Britain, by throwing into her hands alone the profits which were formerly divided with the colonies. This expectation, however, proved totally void of foundation. The number of ſhips fitted out that year was ſcarcely greater than uſual. The congreſs had alſo prohibited them from being ſupplied with proviſions; ſo that not only thoſe on-board the ſhips, but even the inhabitants on the iſland of Newfoundland itſelf, were in danger of periſhing. Many of the ſhips were therefore obliged to go in queſt of proviſions, inſtead of proſecuting the buſineſs on which they came. On the whole, therefore, inſtead of any increaſe, the profits of the fiſhery ſuffered this year a diminution of near 500,000l. Along with this, ſome natural cauſes co-operated, which, by the more ſuperſtitious, were conſidered as the effects of divine wrath. A moſt violent and uncommon ſtorm took place in theſe latitudes during the fiſhing ſeaſon. The ſea roſe full thirty feet above its ordinary level; and that with ſuch rapidity, that no time was allowed for avoiding its fury Upwards of ſeven hundred fiſhing boats periſhed, with all the people in them; and ſome ſhips foundered, with their whole crews. Nor was the devaſtation much leſs on ſhore, as the waters broke in upon the land, occaſioning vaſt loſs and deſtruction.

As the recruiting ſervice in England proved very unfavourable, a treaty was entered into with the Landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel and the Duke of Brunſwick, for a body of troops to be furniſhed from their dominions for ſervice in America, and ſeveral regiments from Hanover were ſent to garriſon Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, whilſt the Britiſh troops which had been employed in thoſe places were ſent to America. The yearly expence of maintaining theſe troops was computed at a million and a half. The houſe of commons voted twenty eight thouſand ſeamen, including ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-five marines, for the ſervice of the year 1776, and fifty-five thouſand men for the land ſervice. The Duke of Grafton, under whoſe adminiſtration the contention with America was renewed, reſigned the privy ſeal, which was committed to the Earl of Dartmouth; Lord George Germaine was appointed to the American department in the room of the Earl of Dartmouth, and Lord Weymouth became ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department. The land-tax was raiſed to four ſhillings in the pound, and not long after the commencement of the ſeſſion, a bill paſſed both houſes, totally prohibiting all trade with the Americans. It alſo enabled the crown to appoint commiſſioners, who ſhould be enabled to grant pardons to individuals, and to cauſe the reſtrictions in the bill to be taken off from any town or diſtrict that ſhould return to its obedience. In the debates produced by the taking foreign troops into Britiſh pay, it was obſerved, that neither the glorious campaign of 1704, which ſaved the German empire, and broke and ruined that military force which had been for half a century the ſcourge and terror of Europe, nor that of 1760, which gave us the vaſt continent of North America, had in any degree equalled the expence of the campaign of Boſton in 1775. It was proved by various calculations, that the maintenance of thoſe troops, diſgraced and half-ſtarved as they were, had not coſt the nation much leſs than a hundred pounds a man in a period ſhort of a year.

Fifty thouſand effective men were now to be employed in America, a force ſuperior to any which had ever acted in the new world. A large body of theſe troops was in Canada under General Carleton; General Howe with the main army was to attack New York, and General Clinton at the head of another body was to make an attempt on South Carolina; a fleet of ſhips under Sir Peter Parker tranſported the latter army. In the opinion of the miniſtry and the majority of both houſes, no alternative ſeemed to be left between abſolute conqueſt and unconditional ſubmiſſion.

Early in the year 1776, a ſquadron of five frigates were ſent out by congreſs, under the command of one Hopkins, who proceeded to the Bahama iſlands, and attacking Providence, which is the moſt conſiderable, they plundered it of artillery and naval ſtores; but the powder on the iſland had been conveyed away. The governor was made priſoner, and in the return of thoſe ſhips they took many prizes. The Glaſgow frigate and a tender in her company were met by them; the former eſcaped after a ſharp engagement, but the latter was taken.

Sir Peter Parker's ſquadron conſiſted of the Briſtol and Experiment, of fifty guns each; the Active, Solebay, Acteon, and Syren, frigates, of twenty eight guns each; the Sphynx of twenty, an hired armed ſhip of twenty-two, a ſmall ſloop of war, an armed ſchooner, and the Thunder bomb-ketch. Theſe ſhips, with the land-forces on-board, ſailed from Boſton. The two large ſhips paſſed over the bar which runs acroſs the harbour of Charleſtown with great difficulty the beginning of June: a fort which commands the paſſage to Charleſtown, which city lies ſix miles farther to the weſtward, was firſt to be attacked; for which purpoſe the troops were landed at Long iſland, which lies more to the eaſtward of Sullivan's, from which it is ſeparated only by ſome ſhoals which are paſſable at low-water. Some American troops were entrenched on the oppoſite ſide of this narrow, and General Lee was at the head of a conſiderable body of troops on the continent. Such impediments occurred to beginning the operations, that the fort was not attacked until the end of the month, when the intenſe heat of the weather rendered the ſervice uncommonly ſevere.

About eleven o'clock on the 28th of June, the Thunder-bomb began the attack by throwing ſhells at the fort; the Briſtol, Experiment, Active, and Solebay, brought up directly againſt the fort, and began a furious cannonading. The Acteon, by the unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, ran aſhore; and, it being found impoſſible to get her off, ſhe was ſet on fire and entirely conſumed. Meanwhile the fort was defended with ſuch undaunted bravery as the tremendous thunder from the ſhips could not appal. Its fire was ſo ſteady and well-directed, that a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the crews, and the ſhips were miſerably ſhattered. Never did Britiſh valour ſhine more conſpicuouſly, never did our marine, in any engagement, experience a rougher encounter. Captain Morris, of the Briſtol, after having received many wounds, notwithſtanding which he firmly maintained his ſtation, was at length killed. Captain Scott, of the Experiment, had an arm ſhot away, of which wound he with difficulty recovered. Whilſt this fierce action continued, the troops remained inactive on Long Iſland, and from ſome motive, which has never been explained, made no attempt to drive the enemy from their entrenchments, and attack the fort on the land ſide, although the engagement with the ſhips and fort continued until the darkneſs of the night obliged the combatants to deſiſt. At ten o'clock in the evening, Sir Peter Parker withdrew his ſhattered veſſels from the ſcene of action, and with great difficulty repaſſed the bar. On-board the Briſtol, one hundred and eleven were killed, the Experiment loſt ſeventy-nine. Thus ended the unfortunate attempt upon Charleſtown.

The force which was now directed againſt America, inſtead of intimidating the revolted provinces, ſerved only to fix them more firmly in their union; and on the 4th of July 1776, the *Thirteen United Colonies* declared themſelves free and independent ſtates, adjured all allegiance to the Britiſh crown, and renounced all political connection with this country. Previouſly to publiſhing this celebrated declaration, a circular letter had been ſent through each colony, ſtating the reaſons for it; and, ſuch was the animoſity now every where prevailing againſt Great Britain, that it met with univerſal approbation, except in the province of Maryland alone; it was not long, however, before the people of that colony, finding themſelves left in a very dangerous minority, thought proper to accede to the meaſures of the reſt. The declaration itſelf was much in the uſual ſtyle, ſtating a long liſt of grievances, for which redreſs had been often aſked in vain; and, for theſe reaſons, they determined on a final ſeparation; to hold the people of Britain, as the reſt of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends."

After thus publicly throwing off all allegiance and hope of reconciliation, the coloniſts ſoon found that an exertion of all their ſtrength was required in order to ſupport their pretenſions. Their arms, indeed, had not, during this ſeaſon, been attended with ſucceſs in Canada. Reinforcements had been promiſed to General Arnold, who ſtill continued the blockade of Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to ſecond his operations. Being ſenſible, however, that he muſt either deſiſt from the enterprize, or finiſh it ſucceſsfully, he re-commenced in form, attempting to burn the ſhipping, and even to ſtorm the town itſelf. He was unſucceſsful, however, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of his force; but he ſucceeded ſo far as to burn a number of houſes in the ſuburbs, and the garriſon were obliged to pull down the remainder in order to prevent the fire from ſpreading.

As the provincials, though unable to reduce the town, kept the garriſon in continual alarms, and in a very diſagreeable ſituation, ſome of the nobility collected themſelves into a body, under the command of one Mr. Beaujeu, in order to relieve their capital; but they were met on their march by the provincials, and ſo entirely defeated, that they were never afterwards able to attempt any thing. The Americans, however, had but little reaſon to plume themſelves on this ſucceſs. Their want of artillery at laſt convinced them, that it was impracticable in their ſituation to reduce a place ſo ſtrongly fortified: the ſmall-pox at the ſame time made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers; intimidating the reſt to ſuch a degree, that they deſerted in crowds. To add to their misfortunes, the Britiſh reinforcements unexpectedly appeared, and the ſhips made their way through the ice with ſuch celerity, that the one part of their army was ſeparated from the other; and General Carleton, ſallying out as ſoon as the reinforcement was landed, obliged them to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind them all their cannon and military ſtores; at the ſame time that their ſhipping was entirely captured by veſſels ſent up the river for that purpoſe. General Carleton now gave a ſignal inſtance of his humanity: being well apprized that many of the provincials had not been able to accompany the reſt in their retreat, and that they were concealed in woods, &c. in a very deplorable ſituation, he generouſly iſſued a proclamation, ordering proper perſons to ſeek them out, and give them relief at the public expence; at the ſame time, leſt, through fear of being made priſoners, they ſhould refuſe theſe offers of humanity, he promiſed, that, as ſoon as their ſituation enabled them, they ſhould be at liberty to depart to their reſpective homes.

The Britiſh general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was ſoon enabled to act offenſively againſt the provincials, by the arrival of the forces deſtined for that purpoſe from Britain. By theſe, he was put at the head of 12,000 regular troops, among whom were thoſe of Brunſwick. With this force he inſtantly ſet out to the Three Rivers, where he expected that Arnold would have made a ſtand; but he had fled to Sorel, a place one hundred and fifty miles diſtant from Quebec, where he was at laſt met by the reinforcements ordered by congreſs. The town of *Trois Rivieres*, or Three Rivers, is ſituated on the north ſide of St. Laurence, and takes its name from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whoſe waters are diſcharged through three mouths into that great reſervoir.

Before any of the larger bodies were put in motion, an expedition was undertaken by Captain Forſter, at the head of a ſmall party of regulars and ſome Indians, againſt a place called the Cedars, about thirty miles to the weſtward of Montreal, on the river St. Laurence. This fort, though naturally ſtrong, and defended by four hundred provincials, did not long reſiſt Captain Forſter's ſpirited attack. A heavy fire of muſketry having been continued for a few hours, the garriſon ſurrendered on condition of having their lives preſerved from the uſual ferocity of the Indians. A detachment of the latter had alſo taken priſoners another party of the provincials, who were marching from Montreal to the relief of the Cedars, and whoſe lives were ſpared through the reſolute and conciliating interpoſition of Captain Forſter. This brave officer advanced next day to Vaudreuil, about ſix miles northward of the Cedars, whence Arnold at the head of ſeven hundred men made an attempt to diſlodge him, but was obliged to return to St. Ann's on the iſland of Montreal. Captain Forſter not having yet received any intelligence of General Carlton's arrival at Trois Rivieres, and finding himſelf much incumbered by the number of his priſoners, judged it expedient to releaſe them in conſequence of an agreement ſigned by Arnold to return an equal number of the king's troops of the ſame rank within the ſpace of two months, and to ſend four captains to Quebec as hoſtages for the performance of the articles. This cartel was afterwards broken by congreſs, who alleged that Captain Forſter had conducted himſelf towards the priſoners taken at the Cedars in a cruel and inhuman manner. What little foundation there was for ſuch a diſhonourable pretence, to palliate a flagrant breach of faith, will beſt appear from the teſtimony of one of the hoſtages. "I am ſurpriſed," ſaid Captain Sullivan in a letter to his brother then a major general in the American ſervice, "to hear that the congreſs, inſtead of redeeming us according to the cartel, have not only refuſed to do it, but have demanded Captain Forſter to be delivered up to anſwer his conduct in what they are pleaſed to term the *maſſacre* of the Cedars. I would fain flatter myſelf that the congreſs would never have thought of ſuch unheard-of proceedings, had they not had a falſe repreſentation of the matter. I do not think that I am under any reſtraint when I ſay, and call that God who muſt judge of all things to witneſs, that not a man living could have uſed more humanity than Captain Forſter did after the ſurrender of the party I belonged to; and whoever ſays to the contrary, let his ſtation in life be what it will, he is an enemy to peace, and a fallacious diſturber of mankind. What reaſon they can give for not redeeming us I cannot conceive: if they are wrongly informed that the affair of the Cedars was a maſſacre, why do not they rather fulfil the cartel than let their hoſtages remain in the hands of a merciless enemy? or do they regard their troops only while the heavens make them victorious?

In the mean time the diviſions of the Britiſh and the Brunſwick forces were advancing with all practicable diſpatch. A conſiderable body under the command of Brigadier-general Frazer had already taken their ſtation at Trois Rivieres: another under that of

Brigadier-general Neſbit lay near them on-board ſome tranſports: and a third, more numerous than either of the former, along with the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and the German commander Reideſel, were on the way from Quebec. At this juncture, the Americans, who had retreated as far as the river Sorrel, about fifty miles from Trois Rivieres, and had there been joined by ſome ſuccours, formed a very daring ſcheme for the ſurpriſe of the troops under General Frazer, with little probability, it muſt be owned, of ſucceſs, but deriving courage even from deſpair. The conduct of this enterprize was committed to Major-general Thompſon, who embarking at Sorrel with two thouſand men, and coaſting along the ſouth ſide of what is called the Lake St. Peter, arrived at Nicolet, whence they fell down the river by night, and paſſed to the other ſide, with the hope of being able to make a ſudden attack before day-break. But Frazer having received intelligence of their approach, immediately landed a body of troops and ſome field-pieces, and prepared to receive them. Neſbit, at the ſame time, poſted his detachment in their rear. After a furious but ineffectual onſet, their only reſource was flight. Neſbit's corps kept the river ſide to prevent their eſcape to the boats; while Frazer's, in purſuit, galled them ſeverely with their light artillery. Between both, they were driven for ſome miles through a deep ſwamp, which they traverſed with inconceivable toil, and in conſtant danger. The Britiſh troops at length grew tired of the purſuit, and the woods afforded the exhauſted enemy a wiſhed-for ſhelter. The firſt and ſecond in command, with about two hundred others, were taken priſoners.

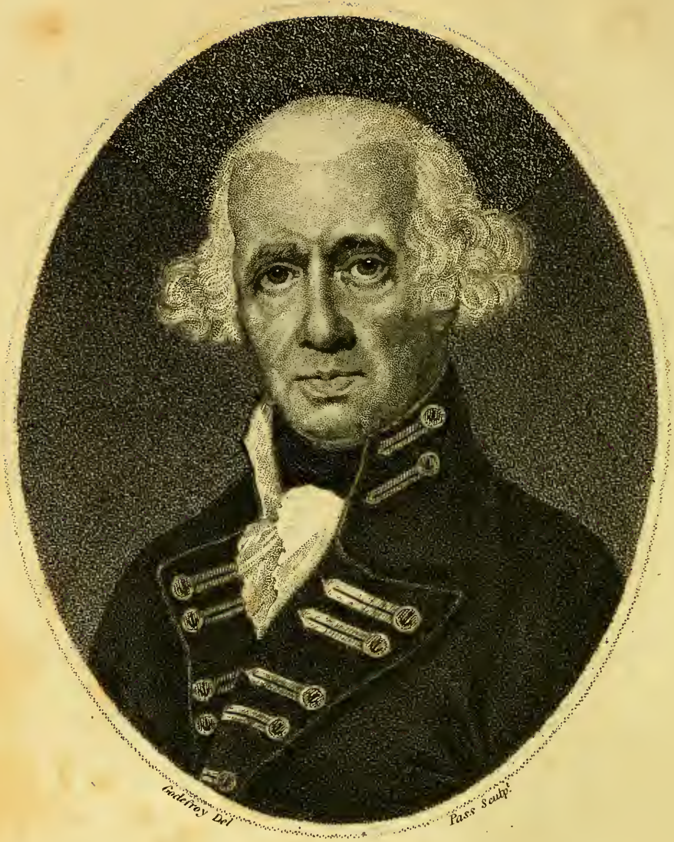
This was the laſt appearance of vigour ſhewn by the provincials in Canada. General Carleton having arrived next day (June 9) at Trois Rivieres, the whole army puſhed forward by land and water with great expedition. When the fleet arrived at Sorrel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place ſome hours before, diſmantled the batteries which they had erected to defend the entrance into that river, and had carried off their artillery and ſtores. A ſtrong column was here landed under the command of General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorrel to St. John's, while the remainder of the army and fleet ſailed up the river to Longueil, the place of paſſage from the iſland of Montreal to La Prairie on the continent. Here they diſcovered that the enemy had abandoned the city and iſland of Montreal on the preceding evening. The army was immediately landed on the continent, and marching by La Prairie, croſſed the peninſula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorrel, in order to join General Burgoyne at St. John's, where they expected that a ſtrong reſiſtance would be made. That general, having purſued his march without intermiſſion, arrived at St. John's on the evening of the eighteenth, but found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing deſtroyed that could not be carried off. The provincials acted in the ſame manner at Chamblée, and burned ſuch veſſels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they directly embarked for Crown Point. Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the Americans; whoſe loſs in their retreat from Quebec was not calculated at leſs than one thouſand men. General Sullivan, however, who conducted this retreat after the affair of General Thomſon, was acknowledged to have had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of the congreſs accordingly.

This bad ſucceſs in the north was ſomewhat compenſated by what happened in the ſouthern colonies. We have formerly taken notice that Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province and take refuge on-board a man of war. Notwithſtanding this, he did not deſpair of reducing it again to obedience. For this purpoſe he applied to the Regulators, a daring ſet of banditti, who lived in a kind of independent ſtate; and, though conſidered by government as rebels, yet had never been moleſted, on account of their numbers and known ſkill in the uſe of fire-arms. To the chiefs of theſe people commiſſions were ſent, in order to raiſe ſome regiments; and Colonel Macdonald, a brave and enterpriſing officer, was appointed to command them. In the month of February he erected the king's ſtandard, iſſued proclamations, &c. and collected ſome forces, expecting to be ſoon joined by a body of regular troops, who were known to be ſhipped from Great Britain to act againſt the ſouthern colonies. The Americans, ſenſible of their danger, diſpatched immediately what forces they had to act againſt the royaliſts, at the ſame time that they diligently exerted themſelves to ſupport theſe with ſuitable reinforcements. Their preſent force was commanded by General Moore, whoſe numbers were inferior to Macdonald; for which reaſon the latter ſummoned him to join the king's ſtandard, under pain of being treated as a rebel. But Moore, being well provided with cannon, and conſcious that nothing could be attempted againſt him, returned the compliment, by acquainting Colonel Macdonald, that if he and his party would lay down their arms, and ſubſcribe an oath of fidelity to congreſs, they ſhould be treated as friends; but, if they perſiſted in an undertaking for which it was evident they had not ſufficient ſtrength, they could not but expect the ſevereſt treatment. In a few days, General Moore found himſelf at the head of eight thouſand men, by reaſon of the continual ſupplies which daily arrived from all parts. The royal party amounted only to two thouſand, and they were deſtitute of artillery, which prevented them from attacking the enemy while they had the advantage of numbers. They were now, therefore, obliged to have recourſe to a deſperate exertion of perſonal valour;

by dint of which, they effected a retreat for eighty miles, to Moor's Creek, within ſixteen miles of Wilmington. Could they have gained this place, they expected to have been joined by Governor Martin and General Clinton, who had lately arrived with a conſiderable reinforcement. But Moore, with his army, purſued them ſo cloſe, that they were obliged to attempt the paſſage of the creek itſelf, though a conſiderable body of the enemy, under the command of Colonel Coſwell, in fortifications well planted with cannon, was poſted on the other ſide. On attempting the creek, it was found not to be fordable. They were obliged, therefore, to croſs over a wooden bridge, which the provincials had not time to deſtroy entirely. They had, however, by pulling up part of the planks, and greaſing the remainder in order to render them ſlippery, made the paſſage ſo difficult, that the royaliſts could not attempt it. In this ſituation they were, on the 27th of February, attacked by Moore, with his ſuperior army, and totally defeated, with the loſs of their general, and moſt of their leaders, as well as the beſt and braveſt of their men.

Thus was the power of the provincials eſtabliſhed in North Carolina. Nor were they leſs ſucceſsful in the province of Virginia; where Lord Dunmore, having long continued an uſeleſs predatory war, was at laſt driven from every creek and road in the province. The people he had on-board were diſtreſſed to the higheſt degree, by confinement in ſmall veſſels. The heat of the ſeaſon, and the numbers crowded together, produced a peſtilential fever, which made a great havock, eſpecially among the blacks. At laſt, finding themſelves in the utmoſt hazard of periſhing by famine as well as diſeaſe, they ſet fire to the leaſt valuable of their veſſels, preſerving only about fifty for themſelves, in which they bade adieu to Virginia, ſome ſailing to Florida, ſome to Bermuda, and the reſt to the Weſt-Indies.

The


Godefroy Del.
Pass Sculp.

THE RIGHT HON$^{\text{BLE}}$. RICH$^{\text{D}}$. EARL HOWE.

Published as the Act directs, July 21$^{\text{st}}$, 1794.

The time was now come, when the fortitude and patience of the Americans were to undergo a ſevere trial. Hitherto they had been, on the whole, ſucceſsful in their operations: but now they were doomed to experience misfortune, miſery, and diſgrace; the enemy over-running their country, and their own armies not able to face them in the field. The province of New York, as being the moſt central colony, and moſt acceſſible by ſea, was pitched upon for the object of the main attack. The force ſent againſt it conſiſted of ſix ſhips of the line, thirty frigates, beſides other armed veſſels, and a vaſt number of tranſports. The fleet was commanded by Lord Howe, and the land-forces by his brother, General Howe, who was now at Halifax. The latter, however, a conſiderable time before his brother arrived, had ſet ſail from Halifax, and lay before New York, but without attempting to commence hoſtilities until he ſhould be joined by his brother. The Americans had fortified New York, and the adjacent iſlands, in an extraordinary manner. General Howe landed his troops on Staten Iſland, where he was ſoon joined by a number of the inhabitants. About the middle of July, Lord Howe arrived with the grand armament; and, being one of the commiſſioners appointed to receive the ſubmiſſion of the coloniſts, he publiſhed a circular letter to this purpoſe, to the ſeveral governors who had lately been expelled from their provinces, deſiring them to make the extent of his commiſſion, and the powers he was inveſted with by parliament, as public as poſſible. Here, however, congreſs ſaved him trouble, by ordering his letter and declaration to be publiſhed in all the newſpapers, that every one, as they ſaid, might ſee the inſidiouſneſs of the Britiſh miniſtry, and that they had nothing to truſt to beſides the exertion of their own valour.

Lord Howe next ſent a letter to General Waſhington; but, as it was directed "To George Waſhington,

ton, Eſq." the general refuſed to receive it, as not being directed in the ſtyle ſuitable to his ſtation. To obviate this objection, Adjutant-general Paterſon was ſent with another letter, directed "To George Waſhington, &c. &c." But, though a very polite reception was given to the bearer, General Waſhington utterly refuſed the letter; nor could any explanation of the adjutant induce him to open it. The only intereſting part of the converſation, was that relating to the power of the commiſſioners, of which Lord Howe was one. The adjutant told him, that theſe powers were very extenſive; that the commiſſioners were determined to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to bring about a reconciliation; and that he hoped the general would conſider this viſit as a ſtep towards it. General Waſhington replied, that it did not appear that theſe powers conſiſted in any thing elſe than granting pardons; and, as America had committed no offence, ſhe aſked no forgiveneſs, and was only defending her unqueſtionable rights.

The deciſion of every thing being now by conſent of both parties left to the ſword, no time was loſt, but hoſtilities commenced as ſoon as the Britiſh troops could be collected. This, however, was not done before the month of Auguſt; when they landed on Long Iſland, oppoſite to the ſhore of Staten Iſland. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped and ſtrongly fortified on a peninſula on the oppoſite ſhore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal paſs of which was near a place called *Flat-buſh*. Here the centre of the Britiſh army, conſiſting of Heſſians, took poſt; the left wing under General Grant, lying near the ſhore; and the right, conſiſting of the greater part of the Britiſh forces under Lords Percy, Cornwallis, and General Clinton. Putnam had ordered the paſſes to be ſecured by large detachments, which was executed as to thoſe at hand; but one of the greateſt importance, which lay at a diſtance,

tance, was entirely neglected. This gave an opportunity to a large body of troops under Lord Percy and General Clinton to paſs the mountains and attack the Americans in the rear, while they were engaged with the Heſſians in front. Through this piece of negligence, their defeat became inevitable. Thoſe who were engaged with the Heſſians firſt perceived their miſtake, and began a retreat towards their camp; but their paſſage was intercepted by the Britiſh troops, who drove them back into the woods. Here they were met by the Heſſians; and thus were they for many hours ſlaughtered between two fires, no way of eſcape remaining but by breaking through the Britiſh troops, and thus regaining their camp. In this attempt many periſhed; and the right wing, engaged with General Grant, ſhared the ſame fate. The victory was complete; and the Americans loſt on this fatal day (Auguſt 27th) between three and four thouſand men, of whom two thouſand were killed in the battle. Among theſe, a regiment, conſiſting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almoſt entirely cut in pieces, and of the ſurvivors not one eſcaped without a wound. The ardour of the Britiſh troops was ſo great, that they could ſcarcely be reſtrained from attacking the lines of the provincials; but for this there was now no occaſion, as it was certain they could not be defended. Of the Britiſh only 61 were killed in this engagement, and 257 wounded. Eleven hundred of the enemy, among whom were three generals, were taken priſoners. As none of the American commanders thought it proper to riſk another attack, it was reſolved to abandon their camp as ſoon as poſſible. Accordingly, on the night of the 29th of Auguſt, the whole of the continental troops were ferried over with the utmoſt ſecrecy and ſilence; ſo that in the morning the Britiſh had nothing to do but take poſſeſſion of the camp and artillery which they had abandoned.

This victory, though complete, was very far from being ſo deciſive as the conquerors imagined. Lord Howe, ſuppoſing that it would be ſufficient to intimidate the congreſs into ſome terms, ſent General Sullivan, who had been taken priſoner in the late action, to congreſs, with a meſſage, importing, that, though he could not conſiſtently treat with them as a legal aſſembly, yet he would be very glad to confer with any of the members in their private capacity; ſetting forth at the ſame time the nature and extent of his powers as commiſſioner. But the congreſs was not as yet ſufficiently humbled to derogate in the leaſt from the dignity of character they had aſſumed. They replied, that the congreſs of the free and independent ſtates of America could not conſiſtently ſend any of its members in another capacity than that which they had publicly aſſumed; but, as they were extremely deſirous of reſtoring peace to their country upon equitable conditions, they would appoint a committee of their body to wait upon him, and learn what propoſals he had to make.

This produced a new conference. The committee appointed by congreſs was compoſed of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutlege. They were very politely received by his lordſhip; but the conference proved as fruitleſs as before independency had been declared, and the final anſwer of the deputies was, that they were extremely willing to enter into any treaty with Great Britain that conduced to the good of both nations, but that they would not treat in any other character than that of independent ſtates. This poſitive declaration inſtantly put an end to all hopes of reconciliation; and it was reſolved to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. Lord Howe, after publiſhing a manifeſto, in which he declared the refuſal of congreſs, and that he himſelf was willing to confer with all well-diſpoſed perſons about the means of reſtoring public tranquillity, ſet about the moſt proper methods for reducing the city of New York. Here the provincial troops were poſted, and from a great number of batteries kept continually annoying the Britiſh ſhipping. The Eaſt River lay between them, of about twelve hundred yards in breadth, which the Britiſh troops were extremely deſirous of paſſing. At laſt, the ſhips having, after an inceſſant cannonade of ſeveral days, ſilenced the moſt troubleſome batteries, a body of troops were ſent up the river to a bay, about three miles diſtant, where the fortifications were leſs ſtrong than in other places. Here having driven off the provincials by the cannon of the fleet, they marched directly towards the city, (Sept. 15, 1776.) but the enemy, finding that they ſhould now be attacked on all ſides, abandoned the city, and retired to the north of the iſland, where their principal force was collected. In their paſſage thither they ſkirmiſhed with the Britiſh, but carefully avoided a general engagement; and it was obſerved that they did not behave with that ardour and impetuous valour which had hitherto marked their character.

The Britiſh and provincial armies were not now above two miles diſtant from each other: the former lay encamped from ſhore to ſhore for an extent of two miles, being the breadth of the iſland, which, though fifteen miles long, exceeds not two in any part in breadth. The provincials, who lay directly oppoſite, had ſtrengthened their camp with many fortifications; at the ſame time, being maſters of all the paſſes and defiles betwixt the two camps, they were enabled to defend themſelves againſt an army much more numerous than their own; and they had alſo ſtrongly fortified a paſs called *King's Bridge*, whence they could ſecure a paſſage to the continent in caſe of any misfortune. Here General Waſhington, in order to inure the provincials to actual ſervice, and at the ſame time to annoy the enemy as much as poſſible, employed his troops in continual ſkirmiſhes; by which it was obſerved that they ſoon recovered their ſpirits, and behaved with their uſual boldneſs.

As the ſituation of the two armies was now highly inconvenient for the Britiſh generals, it was reſolved to make ſuch movements as might oblige General Waſhington to relinquiſh his ſtrong ſituation. The poſſeſſion of New York had been leſs beneficial than was expected. It had been concerted among the provincials, that the city ſhould be burnt at the time of evacuation; but, as they were forced to depart with precipitation, they were prevented from putting the ſcheme in execution. In a few days, however, it was attempted by ſome who had been left behind for that purpoſe. Taking advantage of a high wind and dry weather the town was ſet on fire in ſeveral places at once, by means of combuſtibles placed for that purpoſe; and, notwithſtanding the moſt active exertions of the ſoldiery and ſailors, a fourth part of the city was conſumed.

On this occaſion the Britiſh were irritated to the higheſt degree; and many perſons, ſaid to be incendiaries, were without mercy thrown into the flames. It was determined to force the provincial army to a greater diſtance, that they might have it leſs in their power, by any emiſſaries, to engage others in a ſimilar attempt. For this purpoſe, General Howe having left Lord Percy with ſufficient force to garriſon New York, he embarked his army in flat-bottomed boats, by which they were conveyed through the dangerous paſſage called *Hell Gate*, and landed near the town of Weſt Cheſter, lying on the continent towards Connecticut. Here having received a ſupply of men and proviſions, they moved to New Rochelle, ſituated on the ſound which ſeparates Long Iſland from the continent. After this, receiving ſtill freſh reinforcements, they made ſuch movements as threatened to diſtreſs the provincials very much, by cutting off their convoys of proviſions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement.

When the Britiſh army landed near Weſt Cheſter, Waſhington harangued his officers, and told them, that they muſt retreat no farther, but decide the fate of America on the ground where they were then intrenched. Lee came up ſoon after, and having learned what had paſſed, remonſtrated againſt ſo deſperate a reſolution. He ſaid, that the Britiſh would infallibly hem Waſhington's army round with ſuch a chain of works, as would reduce him to the neceſſity of ſurrendering through famine, without expoſing them to the riſk of a battle. Theſe repreſentations had due effect on Waſhington, whoſe heroic ſpirit, diſdainful of continual retreat, might otherwiſe have hurried him beyond the dictates of his cooler judgement. He therefore extended his forces into a long line oppoſite to the way in which the enemy marched, keeping the Bruna, a river of conſiderable magnitude, between the two armies, with the North River on his rear. Here again the provincials continued for ſome time to annoy and ſkirmiſh with the royal army, until at laſt, by ſome other manœuvres, the Britiſh general found means to attack them advantageouſly at a place called the *White Plains*, and drove them from ſome of their poſts. The victory on this occaſion was much leſs complete than the former; however, it obliged the provincials once more to ſhift their ground, and to retreat farther up the country. General Howe purſued for ſome time; but, at laſt, finding all his endeavours vain to bring the Americans to a pitched battle, he determined to give over ſuch an uſeleſs chace, and employ himſelf in reducing the forts which the provincials ſtill retained in the neighbourhood of New York. In this he met with the moſt complete ſucceſs. Making a ſudden movement towards Kingſbridge, he unexpectedly inveſted fort Waſhington, a ſtrong poſt, which the Americans, contrary to the earneſt advice of Lee, occupied on the North river, oppoſite to which was Fort Lee on the Jerſey ſide. Colonel Magaw, the commander of the fortreſs, refuſing to ſurrender to

General Howe's ſummons on the 15th of November, it was carried ſword in hand by a furious aſſault the next morning. The loſs of the royal army in killed and wounded amounted to about eight hundred: that of the garriſon to near twelve hundred, beſides more than two thouſand who were made priſoners. On this acquiſition, Lord Cornwallis was detached with a ſtrong body of forces to form the inveſtment of Fort Lee, but found it already abandoned by the garriſon, who retired with ſuch precipitation as to leave behind them their artillery, proviſions, and ſtores. General Waſhington, who had paſſed the North river, with a view to the protection of the province of Jerſey, now found himſelf compelled to retreat with a very diminiſhed force to Newark, whence he fell back, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, to Brunſwick, leaving Newark the very morning that his lordſhip entered it. As the van of Lord Cornwallis's army advanced to Brunſwick by a forced march, on the firſt of December, General Waſhington retreated to Prince Town, having firſt broken down the bridge erected there over the Rariton. As the orders of his lordſhip were poſitive not to advance beyond Brunſwick, he here ſent diſpatches to the commander in chief, expreſſing ſanguine hopes, that by a continued purſuit he could entirely diſperſe the army under General Waſhington, and ſeize his heavy baggage and artillery before he could paſs the Delaware. But General Howe would not revoke his order, ſaying only that he would join his lordſhip immediately. Almoſt a week, however, elapſed before this junction took place, nor was any vigorous effort then uſed to recover loſt time. On the 7th of December, the Britiſh army marched from Brunſwick at four o'clock in the morning, and about the ſame hour in the afternoon arrived at Princetown, from which place General Waſhington in perſon, with Stirling's brigade, had not been gone quite an hour. Trenton on the Delaware, where the Americans were to embark for Pennſylvania, was but twelves miles diſtant. Yet the Britiſh troops were detained for ſeventeen hours at Prince town, and, marching thence at nine next morning, got to Trenton at four in the afternoon, juſt when the laſt boat of Waſhington's embarkation croſſed the river, as if Howe had calculated, with the niceſt accuracy, the exact time neceſſary for his enemy to make his eſcape.

While the royal army were overrunning the greater part of the Jerſeys without oppoſition, General Clinton, with two brigades of Britiſh and two of Heſſian troops, and a ſquadron of ſhips of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were ſent to make an attempt upon Rhode Iſland. In this enterpriſe they ſucceeded even beyond expectation; for the provincials having abandoned the iſland at their approach, they took poſſeſſion of it without the loſs of a man, on the very day that General Waſhington croſſed the Delaware. In conſequence alſo of their ſudden arrival and ſucceſs, an American ſquadron of five frigates, commanded by Commodore Hopkins, was under the neceſſity of retiring up the river Providence, where it remained blocked up and inactive.

The ſame ill ſucceſs attended the Americans in other parts. After their expulſion from Canada, they had croſſed the lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown Point, as already mentioned. Here they remained for ſome time in ſafety, as the Britiſh had no veſſels on the lake, and conſequently General Burgoyne could not purſue them. To remedy this deficiency, there was no poſſible method, but either to conſtruct veſſels on the ſpot, or take to pieces ſome veſſels already conſtructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This was effected in no longer a ſpace than three months; and the Britiſh general, after incredible toil and difficulty, ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of a great number of veſſels, by which means he was enabled to purſue his enemies, and attack them in his turn. The labour undergone at this time by the ſea and land forces muſt indeed have been prodigious; ſince there were conveyed over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Laurence, no fewer than 30 large long-boats, 400 batteaux, beſides a vaſt number of flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons. The intent of the expedition was to puſh forward before winter to Albany, where the army would take up its winter-quarters, and next ſpring effect a junction with that under General Howe, when it was ſuppoſed that the united force and ſkill of theſe two commanders would ſpeedily put a termination to the war.

By reaſon of the difficulties with which the equipment of this fleet had been attended, it was the beginning of October before the expedition could be undertaken. It was now, however, by every judge allowed to be completely able to anſwer the purpoſe for which it was intended. It conſiſted of the Inflexible, mounting eighteen 12-pounders, the Carleton ſchooner mounting fourteen, and another ſchooner with twelve 6-pounders beſides howitzers, and a gondola ſeven 9-pounders; beſides theſe were twenty gun-boats, carrying field-pieces, and armed with howitzers: ſome long boats were furniſhed in the ſame manner, and a number of large boats acted as tenders. A number of tranſports were likewiſe employed to convey the troops acroſs the lake. On-board this fleet, which was commanned by Captain Pringle, were ſeven hundred ſeamen; General Carleton headed the land-forces.

The enemy's force on the lake was much inferior: it conſiſted of fifteen veſſels of different kinds; two ſchooners, the largeſt of which mounted twelve ſix and four pounders, one ſloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. Arnold, who commanded, and who was now, for the firſt time, to appear in the capacity of a naval officer, was on-board the Congreſs galley; Brigadier-general Waterburg, the ſecond in command, was on-board the Waſhington galley.

On the 11th of October, 1776, the two fleets appeared in ſight of each other, when a ſharp action enſued; the Americans had the advantage of the wind, but were inferior to their opponents in the manner of working and directing their guns, as well as in force, although the Inflexible could not be brought to act; ſo that the Carleton ſchooner and the gun-boats bore the brunt of the engagement, in which the largeſt American ſchooner was burnt, and a gondola ſunk. At the approach of night, Captain Pringle drew off the ſhips that were engaged, and brought the whole fleet to anchor on a line, with a deſign to prevent the enemy's eſcape, and to renew the fight the next morning. Arnold, convinced of his inability to make head againſt ſuch a force as was now collected againſt him, availed himſelf of the darkneſs of the night, and retreated towards Crown Point. The return of day diſcovered to the Engliſh the eſcape of their enemy, whom they had conſidered as their certain prize. They purſued their flying foes, and overtook them on the 13th about noon, a few leagues ſhort of Crown Point. Another action followed, in which the Waſhington galley, with General Waterburg on-board, was taken. Arnold, unable any longer to maintain the combat, ran the Congreſs galley with five gondolas on ſhore, and landing his men, blew up the veſſels. The other galley and three ſmall veſſels, being all that remained of the American fleet, eſcaped to Ticonderoga.

Immediately on this deciſive ſtroke, the Americans abandoned Crown Point, after deſtroying every thing which they could not carry off, and retreated to Ticonderoga. General Carleton took poſſeſſion of the diſmantled fort, but thought it not adviſeable to attempt the reduction of the other fortreſs. It was a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and the force which defended it was not known. When held by the French in the year 1758, an army ſixty thouſand ſtrong, compoſed of regulars and provincials, com-

manded

manded by General Abercrombie, had been very roughly handled in an aſſault which was made upon it and obliged to retire. The place had never been reduced, the French chooſing to evacuate it on the approach of General Amherſt two years after. Theſe conſiderations rendered General Carleton very cautious in attacking a place, which in that advanced ſeaſon of the year, would yield no immediate advantages if taken; and ſhould it withſtand the aſſault, the glory which the Britiſh arms had acquired would be ſullied, as well as great loſs ſuſtained. He therefore re-embarked his troops, and arriving in Canada, cantoned them for the winter.

Thus the affairs of the Americans ſeemed every where going to wreck: even thoſe who had been moſt ſanguine in their cauſe began to waver. The time, alſo, for which the ſoldiers had enliſted themſelves, was now expired; and the bad ſucceſs of the preceding campaign had been ſo very diſcouraging, that no perſon was willing to engage himſelf during the continuance of a war, of which the event ſeemed to be ſo doubtful. In conſequence of this, General Waſhington found his army daily decreaſing in ſtrength; ſo that from 30,000, of whom it conſiſted when General Howe landed on Staten Iſland, ſcarcely a tenth part could now be muſtered. To aſſiſt the chief commander as much as poſſible, General Lee had collected a body of forces in the north; but on his way ſouthward, having imprudently taken up his lodging at ſome diſtance from his troops, information was given to Colonel Harcourt, who happened at that time to be in the neighbourhood, and Lee was made priſoner, on the 13th of December. The loſs of this general was much regretted, the more eſpecially as he was of ſuperior quality to any priſoner in the poſſeſſion of the coloniſts. Six field-officers were offered in exchange for him, but refuſed; and the congreſs was highly irritated at its being reported that he was to be treated as a deſerter, having been a half-pay officer in the Britiſh ſervice at the commencement of the war. In conſequence of this they iſſued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the priſoners in their poſſeſſion whatever puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on any of thoſe taken by the Britiſh; and eſpecially, that their conduct ſhould be regulated by the treatment of General Lee.

In the mean time, they proceeded with the moſt indefatigable diligence to recruit their army, and bound their ſoldiers to ſerve for a term of three years, or during the continuance of the war. The army deſigned for the enſuing campaign, was to conſiſt of eighty-eight battalions; of which, each province was to contribute its quota; and twenty dollars were offered as a bounty to each ſoldier, beſides an allotment of lands at the end of the war. In this allotment it was ſtipulated, that each ſoldier ſhould have 100 acres; an enſign, 150; a lieutenant, 200; a captain, 300; a major, 400; a lieutenant-colonel, 450; and a colonel, 500. No lands were promiſed to thoſe who enliſted only for three years. All officers or ſoldiers diſabled through wounds received in the ſervice, were to enjoy half-pay during life. To defray the expence, congreſs borrowed five millions of dollars at five per cent. for payment of which the United States became ſurety. At the ſame time, in order to animate the people to vigorous exertions, a declaration was publiſhed, in which they ſet forth the neceſſity there was for taking proper methods to enſure ſucceſs in their cauſe: they endeavoured to palliate, as much as poſſible, the misfortunes which had already happened; and repreſented the true cauſe of the preſent diſtreſs to be the ſhort term of enliſtment.

This declaration, together with the imminent danger of Philadelphia, determined the Americans to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to reinforce Waſhington's army; and they ſoon received farther encouragement, by an exploit of that general againſt the Heſſians. As the royal army was injudiciouſly extended in different cantonments for a conſiderable length, Waſhington, on being fully informed of this diſpoſition, exclaimed in the ſpirit of a vigilant and ſagacious commander, "Now is the time to clip the wings of the enemy, while they are ſo ſpread."

Very early in the morning of the 26th of December, a day purpoſely ſelected on the ſuppoſition that the preceding feſtivity of Chriſtmas-day might favour the project of ſurpriſe, General Waſhington croſſed the Delaware, not without extreme difficulty, as the river had begun to be frozen; and directly proceeding on his march in the midſt of ſnow and hail, reached Trenton by day-break. Here about one thouſand ſix hundred men, chiefly Heſſians, were ſtationed under the command of Colonel Rahl, who were thrown into confuſion at the firſt attack. The colonel himſelf being mortally wounded, the diſorder increaſed; and, abandoning their artillery, they attempted to make their retreat to Prince-town; but finding this impracticable, and being now overpowered and nearly ſurrounded, the three regiments of Rahl, Loſsberg, and Knyphauſen, laid down their arms and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; the remainder of the troops narrowly eſcaping by way of Borden-town. In the evening General Waſhington repaſſed the Delaware, carrying with him the priſoners, their artillery, and colours; and entered the city of Philadelphia in triumph.

This action, though ſeemingly of no very deciſive nature, was ſufficient, at that time, to turn the fortune of war in favour of America. It tended greatly to leſſen the fear which the provincials had of the Heſſians, at the ſame time that it equally abated the confidence which the Britiſh had till now put in them. Reinforcements came in to Waſhington's army from all quarters; ſo that he was ſoon in a condition to leave Philadelphia, and take up his quarters at Trenton. Emboldened by his ſucceſs, he determined to make an attempt on a diviſion of the Britiſh forces ſtationed at Maidenhead, a town ſituated half-way between Trenton and Prince-town. This conſiſted of three regiments, under the command of Colonel Mawhood, an officer of great merit. The troops were ſurpriſed on their march; but, though they were ſeparately ſurrounded and attacked by a force vaſtly ſuperior, they charged the enemy ſo reſolutely with their bayonets, that they effected a retreat. Theſe attempts of the Americans, however, with the hoſtile diſpoſition of the people, ſhewed the impoſſibility of maintaining poſts ſo far advanced in the enemy's country; ſo that it was reſolved to retreat towards Brunſwick, in order to prevent it, with the troops and magazines it contained, from falling into the hands of the provincials. General Waſhington omitted no opportunity of recovering what had been loſt; and, by dividing his army into ſmall parties, which could be reunited on a few hours warning, he in a manner entirely covered the face of the country, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of all the important places.

Thus ended the campaign of 1776, with ſcarcely any real advantage other than the acquiſition of the city of New York, and of a few fortreſſes in its neighbourhood; where the troops were conſtrained to act with as much circumſpection as if they had been beſieged by a victorious army, inſtead of being themſelves the conquerors.

The ſeas now ſwarmed with American privateers, who made great depredations on our Weſt-India ſhips; and boldly venturing up the Mediterranean, and even into the channel, carried off a number of very rich prizes, to the great loſs of the Engliſh merchants, and to the utter ruin of many very wealthy and reſpectable houſes of trade. The value of the captures made by the Americans in the year 1776, was eſtimated at more than a million ſterling. In conſequence of which the Thames ſoon after preſented the unuſual and melancholy ſight of great number of foreign ſhips, particularly French, taking in cargoes of Engliſh commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of our own Engliſh merchants, who were thus reduced to ſeek that protection under the colour of other nations, which the Britiſh flag uſed to afford to all the world.

The French had a glorious ſpecimen given them this ſummer of the old, the characteriſtical, intrepidity of Britiſh ſeamen. Sir Thomas Rich, in his majeſty's ſhip the Enterpriſe, happened on the 25th of July to fall in with a French ſquadron of two ſail of the line and ſeveral frigates, commanded by the Duke of Chartres. The French bore down upon her, and the admiral hailed the Enterpriſe, and deſired the captain to come on-board immediately; to which the latter replied, that, if the admiral had any thing to communicate to him, he might come on-board the Enterpriſe, as the captain would not go out of his ſhip. The duke inſiſted that he ſhould, or he would ſink him; and the French ſhips accordingly pointed their guns at the Enterpriſe; but Sir Thomas, regardleſs of their threats and preparations, declared, that he never received any orders but from his *own* admiral, and that they were at liberty to fire whenever they pleaſed, as he poſitively would not quit his ſhip. The duke, admiring his ſpirited conduct, begged it as a *favour* that he would do him the honour to come aboard, as he wiſhed much to be acquainted with ſo brave a man. Upon this Sir Thomas went directly, and was received with the utmoſt reſpect by the duke and all his officers.

For the enſuing year, ſixteen additional ſhips of the line were put into commiſſion, and a bounty of five pounds to every ſeaman was offered by proclamation; preſs-warrants were at the ſame time iſſued, and great vigilance was uſed in manning the fleet.

Forty-five thouſand ſeamen were voted. The expence of the navy this year, including the ordinary at 400,000l. and the building and repairing ſhips at 465,500l. amounted to the ſum of 3,205,505l. Another million was afterwards granted towards diſcharging the debt of the navy. On the 6th of February, 1777, a bill for enabling the admiralty to grant commiſſions or letters of marque and repriſal to the owners or captains of private merchantmen, authoriſing them to take and make prize of all veſſels with their effects belonging to any of the thirteen revolted American colonies, was paſſed.

A tranſaction of a moſt extraordinary nature in the Eaſt-Indies, and which amounted to no leſs than the total ſubverſion of eſtabliſhed government in one of the principal ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, together with ſeveral ſubſequent proceedings relative to it at the India houſe, were the means of bringing the affairs of the company once more within the cognizance of parliament. This revolution was generally aſcribed to the intrigues and ambition of the Nabob of Arcot, who had riſen to very great power through the protection and alliance of the company, and had gradually acquired an over-ruling, if not boundleſs influence in the council at Madras. With a view, it was ſaid, of more effectually promoting his deſigns, he laid by the jealous ſtate and diſtant pride of an eaſtern deſpot, and ſeemed to become, as nearly as could poſſibly be admitted, an inmate and member of the Britiſh community at that ſettlement, making the outward, or black town, as it is called, the principal ſeat of his reſidence. Thus he was in conſtant poſſeſſion of every tranſaction that paſſed, and even of every propoſal that originated in the council; nor is it improbable that ſome of the meaſures adopted there aroſe from his own immediate ſuggeſtions. It is certain, that a joint enterpriſe, which was undertaken by the company's forces in that preſidency with the nabob's, afforded too much colour to ſuch an opinion, and unhappily contributed its full ſhare, along with other eaſtern exorbitancies, deeply to affect the character of the Engliſh nation both in Europe and Aſia.

This was the famous expedition to Tanjore, an enterprize heard of in almoſt every part of the world, and condemned for its cruelty and injuſtice wherever it was heard. The Rajah of Tanjore was one of thoſe Gentoo princes, whoſe anceſtors had been long in poſſeſſion of the country, and who had never been entirely ſubdued by the Mogul Tartars; but were rendered tributary to their empire, the government being otherwiſe retained in the original hands. This prince had been for many years in alliance both with the company and the nabob, and had been engaged with them in the perils and fortune of former wars. On the ſettlement of the affairs of the Eaſt-Indies at the treaty of Paris, it was thought neceſſary to put an end to the diſpute between France and England, who ſupported the intereſts of different pretenders to power in that part of the world. France was accordingly obliged to admit Salabat Jing as lawful Subah of the Decan; and Mahomet Ali Cawn, as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic. The mogul readily granted, on his part, ſuch powers as were neceſſary to confirm theſe arrangements. Accounts were alſo liquidated, and a convention made under the authority and guarantee of the company between their own allies. The nabob was to be paid the arrears of, and to receive, in future, the tribute due to the mogul, for which he was to be accountable to their common ſuperior, and to have a conſiderable ſum for himſelf. The rajah was to remain in all other reſpects as before in poſſeſſion of his dominions; but a variety of tranſactions ſoon after took place between him and the nabob, and new accounts were opened, the rajah alleging that he ought to be allowed for his expences in certain military ſervices rendered to the nabob, and the latter inſiſting on receiving immediate payment of the ſums ſtipulated under the late convention without any abatement.

Theſe diſputes continued for ſome time, till the nabob prevailed on the powers at Madras and on the royal commiſſioners to fall in with his views; and a war, on the pretence of a delay in payment, broke out. The rajah was little able to withſtand the united force of the company and nabob. His capital being taken after a brave defence, the unhappy prince was ſtripped without pity or remorſe, of every thing but life. His kingdom was ſeized by the nabob; his treaſures were applied to the expences of the war, and to other preſent purpoſes; whilſt his ſubjects, who were among the moſt induſtrious people in India, experienced all the cruelty and rapacity of a Mahometan conqueſt and government.

The account of this tranſaction, with all the circumſtances of the ſpoil and ruin of a friend and ally in ſo unexampled a manner, excited the greateſt indignation of the company in England. That viſible aſcendancy over the counſels and actions of their ſervants, of which the nabob had now given a very dangerous proof, was another alarming conſideration. He had alſo removed his eldeſt ſon, a mild and moderate prince, from all power, and from the command of his armies, and placed it in the hands of his ſecond ſon, a young man of a temper more congenial to his own, and poſſeſſed of ability, with a ſtrong ſpirit of enterpriſe. Good policy, therefore, as well as juſtice, pointed out the propriety of ſetting ſome bounds to the nabob's ambitious career, by reſtoring the rajah to his dominions. The company, at the ſame time, were far from wiſhing to fall out with the nabob, if it could be avoided; nor were they diſpoſed to urge matters to any extremity with their ſervants for what was paſt. A reparation of the outrage and wrong ſeemed likely to anſwer every purpoſe; but it was apprehended, that a vigorous proſecution of the delinquents would involve the company's affairs in the utmoſt perplexity. In order to execute ſo delicate a commiſſion with equal prudence, ſafety, and honour, it was reſolved to ſend out Lord Pigot, as governor and preſident of Madras, the company very reaſonably ſuppoſing, that the appearance of ſuch a man upon that ground which had been the ſcene of his former power and glory, where his name and actions were ſtill freſh and alive, and where the principal and moſt dangerous party was little more than the creature of his own making, would have been attended with diſtinguiſhed advantages; and that he might have performed thoſe acts without envy or jealouſy, which would have been oppoſed or reſented in other hands.

The time that unavoidably elapſed before Lord Pigot's arrival in his government, afforded a full ſcope for the exerciſe of the nabob's ability in intrigue. Though the part already taken by the council would neceſſarily influence their conduct in endeavouring to ſupport or confirm their own former act, he thought it prudent to intereſt them ſtill more deeply in the meaſure of ſecuring to him the perpetual poſſeſſion of Tanjore. He accordingly borrowed vaſt ſums of money from ſeveral members of the council, and ſome others whoſe weight and concurrence might be requiſite for the completion of his ſcheme; and directly or indirectly mortgaged to them the revenues of Tanjore, as a ſecurity both for the principal, and for a prodigious intereſt ariſing on it, which amounted annually to near one third of the original debt.

Lord Pigot did not reach Madras till the latter end of the year 1775; but notwithſtanding the previous meaſures which had been taken, and the violent oppoſition he experienced, he ſucceeded ſo far as to reſtore the rajah to the juſt poſſeſſion of his ancient and hereditary dominions. His lordſhip had now to encounter the mortal enmity of the nabob, and a corrupt combination of the majority of the council, who were farther ſtrengthened by the dangerous power lodged in the hands of the commander in chief of the forces. The diſputes grew hotter from day to day; and the cabals with the nabob grew cloſer and cloſer. It was of the greateſt moment to ſend a proper officer to Tanjore. The oppoſition part of the council firſt agreed with the governor on the meaſure, and the deſignation of the perſon. They ſoon changed their minds about the latter, and inſiſted, that being the majority of the council, they had a right to do every thing, regardleſs of the governor's opinion or diſſent. Lord Pigot, finding them actuated by no other principle than that of traverſing all his endeavours for carrying the orders of the company into execution, took a very bold ſtep, for which nothing but the exigency of the moment could afford any excuſe; and having put the queſtion, carried the ſuſpenſion of two of the council by his own caſting vote. He alſo put Sir Robert Fletcher, the commander in chief of the forces, under an arreſt for diſobedience of his ſupreme authority in the fortreſs.

Inſtead of waiting the deciſion of the company on theſe meaſures, a plot was formed by the offended party for ſeizing the perſon of the preſident, and for effecting a complete revolution in their own favour. In conſequence of the arreſt laid upon Sir Robert Fletcher, Colonel Stuart ſucceeded to the command of the forces. Though this gentleman was in the higheſt ſtate of intimacy and friendſhip with Lord Pigot, he notwithſtanding entered deeply into the views of the conſpirators; and as any military violence offered to the governor within the precincts of the fortreſs would involve the actors in the penalties of the mutiny laws, the colonel inveigled him to quit the only ſituation which could afford him ſecurity. Having, on the 23d of Auguſt, 1776, ſpent the fore part of the day with his lordſhip, he took occaſion from the exceſſive heat of the weather to recommend in the evening a cool retreat to a villa at a ſmall diſtance from Madras, appropriated to the uſe of the governors; and made an offer of his own company, as a farther inducement. In the way, they were ſurrounded, as had been concerted, by an officer and party of ſepoys, both in the company's ſervice, when, under the auſpices and immediate hands of his late companion and gueſt, the governor was thruſt out of his chaiſe, with circumſtances of not leſs rudeneſs than violence, and carried priſoner to a place called the Mount, where he was confined under a ſtrong military guard. His enemies now ſeized all the powers of government, appointing their principal leader to be his ſucceſſor, and copying the very act on which their chief complaints againſt him were founded, by removing from the council ſuch members as had voted with him in the former ſtruggle. Both parties ſent confidential perſons as expreſſes to England, the one to arraign, and the other to juſtify, the late proceedings. Even the nabob had an agent in London, who left no means untried to ſecure effectual ſupport both at the India-houſe and in parliament. But, in ſpite of all the efforts of corruption and intrigue, ſo great was the indignation of the company in general at the conduct of the conſpirators, that when the whole buſineſs was formally laid before the proprietors at their quarterly court, on the 26th of March, 1777, they agreed to a reſolution, which was afterwards confirmed on a ballot, by a majority of 382 to 140, recommending to the court of directors, "to take the moſt effectual meaſures for reſtoring Lord Pigot to the full exerciſe of the powers veſted in him by the company;—and for inquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his impriſonment."

Though ſeveral of the directors had been gained over to the oppoſite intereſt, they could not avoid acting in ſeeming conformity to this recommendation, while they were ſecretly determined to render it nugatory. Several reſolutions were accordingly paſſed at a court held the 11th of April, by which Lord Pigot was reſtored to the full exerciſe of the office and powers, from which he had been degraded; his four friends, who had been driven from their ſeats, were reinſtated; and the ſeven members of the council, including the commander in chief, who had violently overthrown the goverment by a military force, were ſuſpended from the company's ſervice: but to theſe was added a vote of cenſure on Lord Pigot's conduct; and while inſtructions were preparing to accompany the reſolutions, every poſſible impediment was thrown in the way to retard or embarraſs the buſineſs. The main ſubject appeared to be almoſt forgotten in a variety of other diſputes. At length, under the impoſing ſhow of an attempt to pleaſe all parties, to reconcile all differences, and to adminiſter impartial juſtice, three new reſolutions were propoſed; and, to the aſtoniſhment of the public, the queſtion in favour of them was carried, at another general court of proprietors on the 9th of May, by a majority of 414 to 317. By the firſt of theſe reſolutions, after reprobating the treatment which Lord Pigot had met with, and affording him the mockery of a temporary reſtoration to his government, without any power of acting in it, he was ordered immediately home, for an inquiry into his conduct: by the ſecond, his friends in the council were ordered home: and by the third, the whole body of his enemies were likewiſe recalled.

Such glaring inconſiſtency in the proceedings at the India-houſe prompted Governor Johnſtone to bring the matter before parliament on the 22d of the ſame month, and to move for ſeveral reſolutions, which went to a ſtrong approbation of Lord Pigot's conduct; to a confirmation of thoſe acts of the company that had been either paſſed in his favour, or in condemnation of the factious party at Madras; and to annul the late incongruous reſolution for his recal. On theſe, if carried, the mover intended to found a bill for better ſecuring the Engliſh ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies. The motion was oppoſed by the friends of adminiſtration, though moſt of the principals were abſent, perhaps from an unwillingneſs to take any ſhare in the debate. It certainly did Lord North very little honour to exert himſelf in ſupporting the abſurd and venal reſolution of the court of proprietors.—All the force of argument, all the powers of eloquence, ſeemed to be confined to the ſpeakers of the minority on this occaſion. Mr. Fox, in particular, excited ſuch ſudden and extraordinary burſts of applauſe, as had never before been heard in a Britiſh houſe of commons. Yet, when a diviſion took place at one o'clock in the morning, the numbers were only 67 in favour of Governor Johnſtone's motion, againſt 90, by whom it was rejected. The unfortunate nobleman, whoſe conduct and whoſe ſufferings were the chief ſubject of the debate, did not live to feel the additional ſting of parliamentary injuſtice. Eleven days before this deciſion, he fell a victim to the rigors of confinement, to the inſults and cruelty of his enemies; but retained to the laſt moment that dignity and firmneſs of character, for which he had been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed.

This affair in all its circumſtances was again brought before the houſe of commons, on the 16th of April, 1779, when Admiral Pigot, the deceaſed lord's brother, after ſtating in a ſeries of reſolutions, the principal facts relative to the cataſtrophe, concluded with moving an addreſs to his majeſty, praying, "that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions to his attorney-general to proſecute George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, and George Mackay, Eſqrs. for ordering their governor, Lord Pigot, to be arreſted and confined under a military force; they being returned to England, and now within the juriſdiction of his majeſty's courts of Weſtminſter-hall." Stratton,

ton, the ringleader of thoſe conſpirators, was, at this critical inſtant of time, perſonally preſent in his place, as a member of the houſe of commons; and entered into a long defence of his own conduct, as well as that of his colleagues. But his vindication appeared ſo unſatisfactory, that Admiral Pigot's reſolutions were carried and the addreſs agreed to unanimouſly. In the ſequel, however, the delinquents, though convicted in the court of King's Bench, were ſentenced only to pay a trifling fine.

The attention of parliament was now called off from the confuſions of the eaſt to the more preſſing concerns of the weſtern world. On the 30th of May, the Earl of Chatham moved the houſe of lords to addreſs the throne, praying that the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures ſhould be taken for putting a ſtop to hoſtilities in America, and for the removal of accumulated grievances. He particularly inſiſted upon the neceſſity of immediately adopting the propoſed meaſure, from the imminent danger to which, in our preſent ſituation, we were expoſed from the houſe of Bourbon. A treaty between France and America, he ſaid, was then agitating, whereby we ſhould not only loſe the advantages which we had derived from the vaſt and increaſing commerce of our colonies, but that commerce and thoſe advantages, would be acquired by our natural enemies. He inſiſted on the impracticability of conquering America, and declared in that ſtrong and emphatic language, by which this great ſtateſman and orator was ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, that we were "waging war with America under a maſked battery of France, which would ere long open upon us and ſweep us away." The motion, after warm debates, was rejected by a majority of 99 to 28.

Theſe predictions were drawn from the true ſource of intelligence, a penetrating ſagacity. A few days after this ſpeech was delivered, M. de Sartine, the French miniſter of marine, cauſed a public inſtrument to be delivered to the ſeveral chambers of commerce in France, which aſſured them that the king his maſter was determined to afford the fulleſt protection to their commerce with the Americans, and would reclaim all ſhips that were taken by Engliſh cruizers whilſt conveying the products of that continent. This declaration was in direct defiance of all the navigation laws which had been enacted by the Britiſh legiſlature. That nice ſenſe of injured honour, which had ever influenced this nation in her conduct towards foreign powers, was now moſt notoriouſly ſuppreſſed. The exigencies of the times dictated a tame and ſubmiſſive ſpirit, and it was adopted. The real or pretended ſecurity, which the miniſtry profeſſed, did not prevent many foreboding apprehenſions being uttered in each houſe of parliament, and enquiries reſpecting the ſtate of our navy were ſtrenuouſly urged, which drew from the noble lord at the head of the admiralty board a very confident aſſertion, that a force could in a very ſhort time be ſent to ſea, ſufficient to cope with the houſe of Bourbon, if the two branches ſhould unite againſt us.

Such was the ſtate of Europe. In America, an expedition was undertaken early in the ſpring of 1777. The army at New York began to exerciſe a kind of predatory war, by ſending out parties to deſtroy magazines, make incurſions, and take or deſtroy ſuch forts as lay on the banks of rivers, to which their great command of ſhipping gave them acceſs. In this they were generally ſucceſsful; the provincial magazines at Peek's Hill, a place about fifty miles diſtant from New York, were deſtroyed, the town of Dunbury, in Connecticut, burnt, and that of Ridgefield, in the ſame province, was taken poſſeſſion of. In returning from the laſt expedition, the Britiſh were greatly haraſſed by the enemy under Generals Arnold, Wooſter, and Sullivan; but they made good their retreat in ſpite of all oppoſition, with the loſs of only 170 killed and wounded. On the American ſide the loſs was much greater; General Wooſter was killed, and Arnold in the moſt imminent danger. On the other hand, the Americans deſtroyed the ſtore at Sagg Harbour, in Long Iſland, and made priſoners of all who defended the place. As this method of making war could anſwer but little purpoſe, and ſavoured more of the barbarous incurſions of ſavages than of a war carried on by a civilized people, it was reſolved to make an attempt on Philadelphia. At firſt it was thought that this could be done through the Jerſeys; but General Waſhington had received ſuch large reinforcements, and poſted himſelf ſo ſtrongly, that it was found to be impracticable. Many ſtratagems were uſed to draw him from this ſtrong ſituation, but without ſucceſs; ſo that it was found neceſſary to make the attempt on Philadelphia by ſea. While the preparations for this expedition were going forward, the Americans found means to make amends for the capture of General Lee by that of General Preſcot, who was ſeized in his quarters with his aid-de-camp, in much the ſame manner as General Lee had been. This was exceedingly mortifying to the general himſelf, as he had not long before ſet a price upon General Arnold, by offering a ſum of money to any one that apprehended him; which the latter anſwered, by ſetting a lower price upon General Preſcot.

The month of July was far advanced before the preparations for the expedition againſt Philadelphia were completed; and it was the 23d before the fleet was able to ſail from Sandy Hook. The force employed in this expedition conſiſted of thirty-ſix battalions of Britiſh and Heſſians, a regiment of light horſe, and a body of loyaliſts raiſed at New York. The remainder of theſe, with ſeventeen battalions, and another body of light horſe, were ſtationed at New York, under Sir Henry Clinton. Seven battalions were ſtationed at Rhode Iſland. After a week's ſailing, they arrived at the mouth of the Delaware; when they received certain intelligence, that the navigation of the river was ſo effectually obſtructed, that no poſſibility of forcing a paſſage remained. Upon this it was reſolved to proceed farther ſouthward, to Cheſapeak bay, in Maryland, from whence the diſtance to Philadelphia was not very great, and where the provincial army would find leſs advantage, from the nature of the country, than in the Jerſeys.

On the news of their arrival in Cheſapeak, General Waſhington left the Jerſeys, and haſtened to the relief of Philadelphia; and, in the beginning of September, met the royal army at Brandy-wine Creek, about mid-day, between the head of the Elk and Philadelphia. Here he adhered to his former method of ſkirmiſhing and haraſſing the royal army on its march; but, as this proved inſufficient to ſtop its progreſs, he retired to that ſide of the creek next to Philadelphia, with an intent to diſpute the paſſage. This brought on a general engagement, on the 11th of September, in which the Americans were defeated; and it was only through the approach of night that they were ſaved from being entirely deſtroyed. On this occaſion, the provincials loſt about 1000 in killed and wounded, beſides 400 taken priſoners.

The loſs of this battle proved alſo the loſs of Philadelphia. General Waſhington retired towards Lancaſter, an inland town at a conſiderable diſtance. Here the Britiſh general took ſuch meaſures as muſt have forced the provincials to a ſecond engagement, but a violent rain, which laſted a day and a night, prevented his deſign. General Waſhington, though he could not prevent the loſs of Philadelphia, ſtill adhered to his original plan of diſtreſſing the royal party, by laying ambuſhes, and cutting off detached parties: but in this he was leſs ſucceſsful than formerly; and one of his own detachments, which lay in ambuſh in a wood, were themſelves ſurpriſed and entirely defeated, with the loſs of 300 killed and wounded, beſides a great number taken, and all their arms and baggage.

Intelligence having been received on the 20th of September, that General Wayne had concealed himſelf in the woods, with fifteen hundred men, upon ſome ſcheme of haraſſing the left wing or the rear of the Britiſh army on their march, Major-general Grey was detached at night, with two regiments and a body of light infantry, to ſurpriſe that corps. His ſkill and energy were very conſpicuous in this enterpriſe. He gave ſtrict orders that not a gun ſhould be fired, and that his men ſhould truſt ſolely to the ſilent effect of the bayonet. The enemy's outpoſts were completely ſurpriſed, without the leaſt noiſe, at one in the morning; and the Britiſh troops, guided by the light of their fires, ruſhed in upon the encampment, where a dreadful ſlaughter took place, about three hundred being killed or wounded upon the ſpot, and a number of priſoners taken, the remainder eſcaping by the darkneſs of the night, but with the loſs of all their baggage and ſtores. Only one officer and three private men were killed on the ſide of the victors, with the ſame number wounded. Three days after, the whole army paſſed the Schuylkill without oppoſition, and there being nothing now to impede their progreſs, they advanced on the 26th to German-town, a village about ſeven miles from the capital of the province, where the main body formed an encampment. Next morning Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, took peaceable poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, the congreſs having removed their ſittings to York Town in Virginia, and General Waſhington having alſo withdrawn to Skippach Creek, a ſtrong poſt about ſixteen miles from the Brititiſh head-quarters.

No ſooner did Lord Howe receive intelligence of theſe ſucceſſes, than he moved round with the fleet from the Cheſapeak to the Delaware, the navigation of which the Americans had endeavoured to render impracticable

practicable by works and batteries conſtructed on a low marſhy iſland, formed near the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkill; and on the oppoſite ſhore, by a redoubt and intrenchment at a place called *Red-bank*. Acroſs the mid-channel they had, in various parts, ſunk large tranſverſe beams, bolted together, and ſtrongly headed with iron pikes pointing in various directions, to which, from the reſemblance of form, the appellation was given of *chevaux de-ſrize*. Dr. Franklin is ſaid to have aſſiſted in the contrivance of the whole machinery, before his departure for France. To remove theſe obſtructions, ſo as to open a communication between the fleet and the army, was an object of the utmoſt importance; but it could not be accompliſhed without previouſly reducing the forts, by which they were defended. Some ſtrong parties were therefore employed on this ſervice: three regiments had been left at Cheſter, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the conveyance of ſtores and proviſions; and the detachment under Lord Cornwallis at Philadelphia conſiſted of four battalions of grenadiers and a ſquadron of light horſe. General Waſhington hearing of this diſperſion of the Britiſh forces, and having been himſelf lately ſtrengthened by the arrival of fifteen hundred troops from Peck's Kill, and a thouſand Virginians, formed the deſign of ſurpriſing the camp at German Town. With this view he left Skippach Creek at ſix in the evening of the 3d of October, and marching all night, began his attack juſt at day-break. The fortieth regiment, which lay at the head of the village, being overpowered by numbers, was under the neceſſity of retreating; but their brave commander, Lieutenant-colonel Muſgrave, by his addreſs and activity contrived to keep five companies together, and took poſt with them in a large ſtone houſe, which lay full in the front of the enemy. This gallant conduct arreſted the Americans in their career, and in the event prevented the ſeparation of the right and left wings, while it afforded time to the whole line to get under arms. The colonel and his party, though ſurrounded by a brigade, who at length brought up four pieces of cannon to the aſſault, maintained their poſt with undaunted courage, pouring a dreadful and inceſſant fire through the windows, till they were relieved by Major-general Grey and three battalions of the left wing, who were vigorouſly ſupported by Brigadier-general Agnew at the head of the fourth brigade. The engagement for ſome time was very warm, when a part of the right wing pouring down upon the enemy from the oppoſite ſide of the village, they retired with great precipitation, but made good their retreat, with all their artillery, under cover of a thick fog, which rendered it difficult for the Britiſh troops to diſcover their movements. The loſs of the Americans in this action was ſuppoſed to amount to between two and three hundred killed, ſix hundred wounded, and above four hundred made priſoners. General Naſh, and ſeveral inferior officers, were among the ſlain. The Britiſh troops alſo ſuffered ſeverely. About ſeventy were killed, and in that number unhappily were Brigadier-general Agnew and Lieutenant-colonel Bird, officers of diſtinguiſhed reputation. A few only were taken priſoners: but the number of the wounded fell little ſhort of four hundred and fifty.

Meaſures being ſoon after concerted between Sir William Howe and his brother for removing the obſtructions of the river, and the Britiſh army having withdrawn from German Town to the vicinity of Philadelphia, for the greater convenience of ſituation, a ſtrong body of Heſſians was ſent over Cowper's Ferry on the 22d of October to ſtorm the fortreſs of Redbank, whilſt the ſhips and batteries on the other ſide were to carry on their attacks againſt Mud Iſland, and againſt ſeveral gallies and armed veſſels which the enemy had ſtationed there. Though nothing could exceed the good diſpoſitions made for theſe ſeveral attacks,

tacks, nor the exertions of vigour and courage diſplayed both by the land and naval forces on their different elements, yet the enterpriſe not only failed of ſucceſs, but was in every reſpect unfortunate. The Heſſians, after a deſperate engagement, were repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter; and the men of war and frigates, though they made their way through the lower barrier, could not bring their fire to bear, with any great effect, either on the principal works, or on the enemy's marine. The Auguſta man of war and Merlin ſloop were ſtranded in avoiding the chevaux-de-frize, and the Auguſta was by accident blown up, but the greater part of the officers and crew were ſaved. On the 15th of November, the attack was renewed with a more formidable force; and the artillery of the enemy being completely ſilenced towards evening, the garriſon retired in the night acroſs river in boats to Red-bank, which was alſo ſoon after evacuated. The chevaux-de-frize were now weighed with no ſmall difficulty, and the free navigation of the Delaware was reſtored. A great number of the American ſhipping, finding themſelves entirely deſtitute of protection, ſailed up the river in the night-time. Seventeen remained, whoſe retreat was intercepted by a frigate and ſome armed veſſels; on which the Americans ran them aſhore and burnt them, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

Thus the campaign of 1777, in Pennſylvania, concluded ſucceſsfully on the part of the Britiſh. In the north, however, matters wore a different aſpect. The expedition in that quarter had been projected by the Britiſh miniſtry, as the moſt effectual method that could be taken to cruſh the colonies at once. The four provinces of New England had originally begun the confederacy againſt Britain, and they were ſtill conſidered as the moſt active in the continuation of it; and it was thought, that any impreſſion made upon them would contribute in an effectual manner to the reduction

tion of the reſt. For this purpoſe, an army of 4000 choſen Britiſh troops, and 3000 Germans, were put under the command of General Burgoyne: General Carleton was directed to uſe his intereſt with the Indians to perſuade them to aſſiſt in this expedition; and the province of Quebec was to furniſh large parties to join in the ſame. The officers who commanded under General Burgoyne were, General Philips of the artillery, Generals Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton; with the German officers, Generals Reideſel and Speecht. To aid the principal expedition, another was projected on the Mohawk river, under Colonel St. Leger, who was to be aſſiſted by Sir John Johnſon, ſon to the famous Sir William Johnſon, who had ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war of 1755.

On the 21ſt of June, 1777, the army encamped on the weſtern ſide of the Lake Champlain; where, being joined by a conſiderable body of Indians, General Burgoyne made a ſpeech, in which he exhorted theſe new allies to lay aſide their ferocious and barbarous manner of making war; to kill only ſuch as oppoſed them in arms; and to ſpare priſoners, with ſuch women and children as ſhould fall into their hands. After iſſuing a proclamation, in which the force of Britain, and that which he commanded, was ſet forth in very oſtentatious terms, the campaign opened with the ſiege of Ticonderoga. The place was very ſtrong, and garriſoned by 6000 men, under General Sinclair; nevertheleſs, the works were ſo extenſive, that even this number was ſcarcely ſufficient to defend them. They had therefore omitted to fortify a rugged eminence, called *Sugar Hill*, the top of which overlooked and effectually commanded the whole works; vainly imagining, that the difficulty of the aſcent would be ſufficient to prevent the enemy from taking poſſeſſion of it. On the approach of the firſt diviſion of the army, the provincials abandoned and ſet fire to their outworks; and ſo expeditious were the Britiſh troops, that by the 5th of July every poſt was ſecured which was judged neceſſary for inveſting it completely. A road was ſoon after made to the very ſummit of that eminence, which the Americans had with ſuch confidence ſuppoſed could not be aſcended; and ſo much were they now diſheartened, that they inſtantly abandoned the fort entirely, taking the road to Skeneſborough, a place to the ſouth of Lake George; while their baggage, with what artillery and military ſtores they could carry off, were ſent to the ſame place by water. But the Britiſh generals were determined not to let them paſs ſo eaſily. Both were purſued, and both overtaken. Their armed veſſels conſiſted only of five galleys; two of which were taken, and three blown up; on which they ſet fire to their boats and fortifications at Skeneſborough. On this occaſion, the provincials loſt 200 boats, 130 pieces of cannon, with all their proviſions and baggage. Their land-forces under Colonel Francis made a brave defence againſt General Frazer: and, being greatly ſuperior in number, had almoſt overpowered him, when General Reideſel, with a large body of Germans, came to his aſſiſtance. The enemy were now overpowered in their turn; and, their commander being killed, they fled on all ſides with great precipitation. In this action 200 Americans were killed, as many taken priſoners, and above 600 wounded, many of whom periſhed in the woods for want of aſſiſtance.

During the engagement, General Sinclair was at Caſtleton, about ſix miles from the place; but, inſtead of going forward to Fort Anne, the next place of ſtrength, he repaired to the woods which lie between that fortreſs and New England. General Burgoyne detached Colonel Hill, with the ninth regiment, to intercept ſuch as ſhould attempt to retreat towards Fort Anne. On his way he met with a body of the enemy, ſaid to be ſix times as numerous as his own; who, after an engagement of three hours, were obliged to retire with great loſs. After ſo many diſaſters, deſpairing of being able make any ſtand at Fort Anne, they ſet fire to it, and retired to Fort Edward. In all theſe engagements, the loſs of killed and wounded in the royal army did not exceed two hundred men.

General Burgoyne was now obliged to ſuſpend his operations for ſome time, and wait at Skeneſborough for the arrival of his tents, proviſions, &c. He therefore employed this interval in making roads through the country about St. Anne, and in clearing a paſſage for his troops to proceed againſt the enemy. This was attended with incredible toil; but all obſtacles were ſurmounted with equal patience and reſolution by the army. In ſhort, after undergoing the utmoſt difficulties that could be undergone, and making every exertion that man could make, he arrived with his army before Fort Edward about the end of July. Here General Schuyler had been for ſome time endeavouring to recruit the ſhattered American forces, and had been joined by General Sinclair with the remains of his army; the garriſon of Fort George alſo, ſituated upon the lake of that name, had evacuated the place, and retired to Fort Edward. However, on the approach of the royal army, they retired thence alſo, and formed their head-quarters at Saratoga.

Notwithſtanding the great ſucceſſes of the Britiſh general, the Americans ſhewed not the leaſt diſpoſition to ſubmit, but ſeemed only to conſider how they might make the moſt effectual reſiſtance. For this purpoſe, the militia were every where raiſed and draughted to join the army at Saratoga; and ſuch numbers of volunteers were daily added, that they ſoon began to recover from the terror into which they had been thrown. That they might have a commander whoſe abilities could be relied on, General Arnold was appointed, who repaired to Saratoga with a conſiderable train of artillery; but, receiving intelligence that Colonel St. Leger was proceeding with great rapidity in his expedition on the Mohawk River, he removed to Stillwater, a place about half-way between Saratoga and the junction of the Mohawk and Hudſon's River. The colonel, in the mean time, had advanced as far as Fort Stanwix; the ſiege of which he preſſed with great vigour. On the 6th of Auguſt, underſtanding that a ſupply of proviſions, eſcorted by eight or nine hundred men, was on the way to the fort, he diſpatched Sir John Johnſon with a ſtrong detachment to intercept it. This he did ſo effectually, that beſides intercepting the proviſions, 400 of its guard were ſlain, 200 taken, and the reſt eſcaped with great difficulty. The garriſon, however, were not to be intimidated by this diſaſter, nor by the threats or repreſentation of St. Leger: on the contrary, they made ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, under Colonel Willet, the ſecond in command; and this gentleman, in company with another, even ventured out of the fort; and, eluding the vigilance of the enemy, paſſed through them, in order to haſten the march of Arnold to their aſſiſtance.

Thus the affairs of Colonel St. Leger ſeemed to be in no very favourable ſituation, notwithſtanding his late ſucceſs, and they were ſoon totally ruined by the deſertion of the Indians. They had been alarmed by the report of General Arnold's advancing with 2000 men to the relief of the fort; and, while the colonel was attempting to give them encouragement, another report was ſpread, that General Burgoyne had been defeated with great ſlaughter, and was now flying before the provincials. On this, he was obliged to retreat, with the loſs of the tents, and ſome of the artillery and military ſtores.

General Burgoyne, in the mean time, notwithſtanding the difficulties he had already ſuſtained, found that he muſt ſtill encounter more. The roads he had made with ſo much labour and pains, were deſtroyed, either by the wetneſs of the ſeaſon, or by the enemy; ſo that the proviſions he brought from Fort George could not arrive at his camp without prodigious toil. On hearing of the ſiege of Fort Stanwix by Colonel St. Leger, he determined to move forward, in hopes of incloſing the enemy betwixt his own army and that of St. Leger, or of obtaining the command of all the country between Fort Stanwix and Albany; or, at any rate, a junction with Colonel St. Leger would be effected, which could not but be attended with the moſt happy conſequences. The only difficulty was, the want of proviſions; and this it was propoſed to remedy by reducing the provincial magazines at Bennington. For this purpoſe, Colonel Baume, a German officer of great bravery, was choſen, with a body of 500 men. The place was about twenty miles from Hudſon's River; and, to ſupport Baume's party, the whole army marched up the river's bank, and encamped almoſt oppoſite to Saratoga, with the river betwixt it and that place. An advanced party was poſted at Batten Kill, between the camp and Bennington, in order to ſupport Colonel Baume. In their way, the Britiſh ſeized a large ſupply of cattle and proviſions, which were immediately ſent to the camp; but the badneſs of the roads retarded their march ſo much, that intelligence of their deſign was ſent to Bennington. Underſtanding now that the American force was greatly ſuperior to his own, the colonel acquainted the general, who immediately diſpatched Colonel Breyman with a party to his aſſiſtance; but, through the ſame cauſes that had retarded the march of Colonel Baume, this aſſiſtance came too late. General Starke, in the mean time, who commanded at Bennington, determined to attack the two parties ſeparately; and, for this purpoſe, advanced againſt Colonel Baume, whom he ſurrounded on all ſides, and attacked with the utmoſt violence. The troops defended themſelves with great valour, but were to a man either killed or taken. Colonel Breyman, after a deſperate engagement, had the good luck to effect a retreat through the darkneſs of the night, which otherwiſe he could not have done, as his men had expended all their ammunition.

General Burgoyne, diſappointed in his attempt on Bennington, applied himſelf with indefatigable diligence to procure proviſions from Fort George; and, having amaſſed a ſufficient quantity to laſt for a month, he threw a bridge of boats over the river Hudſon, which he croſſed about the middle of September, encamping on the hills and plains near Saratoga. As ſoon as he approached the provincial army, encamped at Stillwater under General Gates, he determined to make an attack; for which purpoſe he put himſelf at the head of the central diviſion of his army, having General Frazer and Colonel Breyman on the right, with Generals Reideſel and Philips on the left. In this poſition he advanced towards the enemy on the 19th of September. But the Americans did not now wait to be attacked: on the contrary, they attacked the central diviſion with the greateſt ardour; and it was not until General Philips with the artillery came up, that they could be repulſed. On this occaſion, though the Britiſh troops loſt only 330 in killed and wounded, and the enemy no leſs than 1500, the former were very much alarmed at the obſtinate reſolution ſhewn by the Americans. This did not, however, prevent the Britiſh from advancing towards the enemy, and poſting themſelves the next day within cannon-ſhot of their lines. But their allies the Indians began to deſert in great numbers; and at the ſame time the general was in the higheſt degree mortified by having no intelligence of any aſſiſtance from Sir Henry Clinton, as had been ſtipulated. He now received a letter from him, by which he was informed that Sir Henry intended to make a diverſion on the North River in his favour. This afforded but little comfort: however, he returned an anſwer by ſeveral truſty perſons whom he diſpatched different ways, ſtating his preſent diſtreſſed ſituation, and mentioning that the proviſions and other neceſſaries he had would only enable him to hold out till the 12th of October.

In the mean time the Americans, in order to cut off the retreat of the Britiſh army, undertook an expedition againſt Ticonderoga; but were obliged to abandon the enterpriſe after having ſurpriſed all the outpoſts, and taken a great number of boats with ſome armed veſſels, and a number of priſoners. The army under General Burgoyne now laboured under the greateſt diſtreſſes; ſo that in the beginning of October he was obliged to diminiſh the ſoldiers' allowance. On the 7th of that month he determined to move towards the enemy. For this purpoſe he ſent a body of 1500 men to reconnoitre their left wing; intending, if poſſible, to break through it in order to effect a retreat. This detachment had not proceeded far, when a dreadful attack was made upon the left wing of the Britiſh army, which was with great difficulty preſerved by a reinforcement brought up by General Frazer, who was killed in the action. After the troops had with great difficulty regained their camp, it was furiouſly aſſaulted by General Arnold; who, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, would have forced the entrenchments, had he not received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the attack failed on the left, but on the right the camp of the German reſerve was forced, Colonel Breyman killed, and his countrymen defeated, with the loſs of all their artillery and baggage.

This was by far the heavieſt loſs the Britiſh army had ſuſtained ſince the action at Bunker's Hill. The liſt of killed and wounded amounted to near 1200, excluſive of the Germans; but the greateſt misfortune was, that the enemy had now an opening on the right and rear of the Britiſh forces, ſo that the army was threatened with entire deſtruction. This obliged General Burgoyne once more to ſhift his poſition, that the enemy might alſo be obliged to alter theirs. This was accompliſhed on the night of the 7th, without any loſs, and all the next day he continued to offer the enemy battle; but they were now too well aſſured of obtaining a complete victory, by cutting off all ſupplies from the Britiſh, to riſk another engagement. Wherefore they advanced on the right ſide, in order to incloſe him entirely; which obliged the general to direct a retreat towards Saratoga. But the enemy had ſtationed a great force on the ford at Hudſon's River, ſo that the only poſſibility of retreat was by ſecuring a paſſage to Lake George; and, to effect this, a body of workmen were detached, with a ſtrong guard, to repair the roads and bridges that led to Fort Edward. As ſoon as they were gone, the enemy ſeemed to menace an attack; which rendered it neceſſary to recal the guard, and the workmen, being of courſe left expoſed, could not proceed. The boats, which conveyed proviſions down Hudſon's River, were now expoſed to the continual fire of the American markſmen, who alſo took many of them; ſo that it became neceſſary to convey the proviſions over land. In this extreme danger it was reſolved to march by night to Fort Edward, forcing the paſſages at the fords either above or below the place; and, in order to effect this the more eaſily, it was reſolved that the ſoldiers ſhould carry their proviſions on their backs, leaving behind their baggage and every other incumbrance. But, before this could be executed, intelligence was received that the enemy had raiſed ſtrong entrenchments oppoſite to theſe fords, well provided with cannon, and that they had likewiſe taken poſſeſſion of the riſing ground between Fort George and Fort Edward, which in like manner, was provided with cannon.

All this time the American army was increaſing by the continual arrival of militia and volunteers from all parts. Their parties extended all along the oppoſite bank of Hudſon's River, and ſome had even paſſed it in order to watch the leaſt movement of the Britiſh army. The whole force under General Gates was computed at upwards of 16,000 men, while the army under General Burgoyne did not amount to 6000; and every part of the camp was penetrated by the grape and rifle ſhot of the enemy, beſides diſcharges from their artillery, which were almoſt inceſſant. In this ſtate of extreme diſtreſs and danger, the army continued with the greateſt conſtancy and perſeverance till the evening of the 13th of October, when, an inventory of proviſions being taken, it was found that no more remained than what were ſufficient to ſerve for three days; and, a council of war being called, it was unanimouſly determined that there was no method now remaining, but to treat with the enemy. In conſequence of this, a negociation was opened the next day, which ſpeedily terminated in a capitulation of the whole Britiſh army; the principal article of which was, that the troops were to have a free paſſage to Britain, on condition of not ſerving againſt America during the war. On this occaſion, General Gates ordered his army to keep within their camp, while the Britiſh ſoldiers went to a place appointed for them to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made ſpectacles of ſo melancholy an event. The number of thoſe who ſurrendered at Saratoga, amounted to 5750, according to the American accounts; the liſt of ſick and wounded left in the camp when the army retreated to Saratoga, to 528; and the number of thoſe loſt by other accidents ſince the taking of Ticonderoga, to near 3000. But in the evidence afterwards adduced before the houſe of commons by General Burgoyne, it appeared that the number of effective men in the Britiſh army at the time it ſurrendered, amounted only to 3499; whilſt the number of the American army, according to General Gates's return, was 18,624. Thirty-five braſs field-pieces, 7000 ſtand of arms, clothing for an equal number of ſoldiers, with the tents, military cheſt, &c. likewiſe fell into the hands of the Americans.

Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean time, had failed up the North River, and deſtroyed the two forts called Montgomery and Clinton, with Fort Conſtitution, and another place called Continental Village, where were barracks for 2000 men. Seventy large cannon were carried away, beſides a number of ſmaller artillery, and a great quantity of ſtores and ammunition; a large boom and chain reaching acroſs the river from Fort Montgomery to a point of land called St. Anthony's Noſe, which coſt no leſs than 70,000l. ſterling, were partly deſtroyed and partly carried away, as was alſo another boom of little leſs value at Fort Conſtitution. Another attack was made by Sir James Wallace, with ſome frigates, and a body of land-forces under General Vaughan. The place which now ſuffered was named Eſopus: the fortifications were deſtroyed, and the town itſelf reduced to aſhes, as that called Continental Village had been before. But theſe ſucceſſes, of whatever importance they might be, were now diſregarded by both parties. They ſerved only to irritate the Americans, fluſhed with their ſucceſs; and they were utterly inſufficient to raiſe the ſpirits of the Britiſh, who were now thrown into the utmoſt diſmay.

Having conducted the war to this point, we ſhall here make digreſſion to ſpeak of the heroic behaviour of a lady, whoſe huſband was made priſoner in the action of the 7th of October.

Lady Harriet Achland accompanied her huſband Colonel Achland to Canada, in the beginning of the year 1776. In the courſe of that campaign under Sir Guy Carleton, ſhe attached herſelf to the army, and traverſed a vaſt ſpace of country during its progreſs, through all the different extremities of wet, cold, and heat, and under ſuch circumſtances of difficulty and diſtreſs, that would exhibit, if properly detailed, an intereſting picture of the ſpirit, the enterpriſe, and intrepidity, of ancient romance, realized and regulated upon the chaſte and ſober principles of rational love and connubial duty.

In the opening of the campaign of 1777, when General Burgoyne took the command of the expedition from Canada to Albany, Lady Harriet again prepared to follow the fortunes of her huſband. The firſt object of this expedition was to reduce the ſtrong garriſon of Ticonderago; and, as a ſevere action was expected to take place, ſhe was reſtrained from offering herſelf to a ſhare of the fatigue and hazard likely to enſue, by the poſitive injunctions of the colonel. It happened, however, that Ticonderago was abandoned by the Americans, after very little reſiſtance, who retreated towards Caſtleſtown. They were purſued with great ſpirit, and overtaken by the Britiſh; when a ſevere and obſtinate conflict took place, in which Colonel Achland was badly wounded. Lady Harriet, who had been left with other ladies at Crown Point, on hearing the news fell into the utmoſt anxiety and perturbation of mind, at having been prevailed upon to ſtay behind, when perhaps the life of her huſband was ſuſpended on a ſilken thread, and his recovery depending on the doubtful chance of being properly nurſed and carefully attended.

In this ſtate of anxious alarm, no arguments could conſole, or dangers reſtrain, her. She took the deſperate reſolution of committing herſelf to the mercy of the waves, in an open boat and in tempeſtuous weather, attended by four ſeamen, who, prevailed on by the offer of a great reward, took her acroſs the Lake Champlain, at the utmoſt peril of their lives, to join the colonel, whom ſhe found upon his ſick bed, and in want of all thoſe tender offices ſo critical a ſituation requires, and which, when adminiſtered by the hand of the woman we love, ſeldom fail of producing the happieſt effects both on the body and mind.

As ſoon as Colonel Achland recovered, Lady Harriet would no longer be perſuaded from following his fortunes through the campaign; and at Fort Edward, or at the next camp, ſhe purchaſed a two-wheel tumbril for her carriage, conſtructed by ſome of the artificers of the artillery, ſomething ſimilar to what the poſt-boys drive with the mail upon the croſs-country roads in this kingdom. Colonel Achland commanded the Britiſh grenadiers, attached to that part of the army under General Fraſer, which conſiſted of the light infantry, compoſed of choſen men from all the regiments, and formed the advanced corps; and were conſequently always employed in harraſſing the rear, and puſhing forward upon the enemy. Their ſituations were often ſo alert, that neither officers nor men were ſuffered to ſleep out of their clothes. In one of theſe ſituations, a tent, in which the colonel and Lady Harriet were aſleep, ſuddenly took fire. An orderly ſerjeant of grenadiers, with great hazard of ſuffocation, dragged out the firſt perſon he caught hold of. It proved to be the colonel. It happened in the ſame inſtant that Lady Achland, unknowing what ſhe did, and perhaps not perfectly awake, providentially made her eſcape, by creeping out under the back part of the tent. The firſt object ſhe ſaw, upon the recovery of her ſenſes, was the colonel, on the other ſide; but, in the ſame inſtant, plunging into the fire again, in ſearch of her. The ſerjeant again ſaved his officer; but not till he was very ſeverely burned in his face, and in different parts of his body. Every thing they had with them in the tent was conſumed.

This accident happened a little before General Burgoyne's army paſſed the Hudſon's river. It neither altered the reſolution nor the cheerfulneſs of Lady Harriet; and ſhe continued her progreſs, a regular partaker of all the fatigues of the advanced corps, ſurrounded with peril, and an eye-witneſs to every ſcene of deſolation and diſtreſs. The next call upon her fortitude was of a different nature, and infinitely more trying, as of longer ſuſpence. On the march of the troops to attack the American army, on the 19th of September, 1777, the grenadiers, which Colonel Achland led into action, being liable to engage at every ſtep, he had previouſly directed his lady to follow the route of the artillery and baggage, which was not expoſed. At the time the action began, ſhe found herſelf near a ſmall uninhabited hut, where ſhe alighted. When it was found the battle was becoming general and bloody, the ſurgeons of the hoſpital took poſſeſſion of the ſame place, as the moſt convenient for the firſt care of the wounded. Few actions have been characterized by more obſtinacy in attack or defence, than that which now took place. The Britiſh bayonet was repeatedly tried ineffectually. Eleven hundred Britiſh ſoldiers, foiled in theſe trials, bore inceſſant fire from a ſucceſſion of freſh troops in ſuperior numbers, for upwards of four hours; and, after a loſs of above a third of their number, forced the enemy at laſt. Of a detachment of a captain and forty-eight artillery-men, thirty-ſix were killed or wounded; yet, in the duſk of the evening, the enemy gave way, and retired in all directions. The tribute of praiſe due to ſuch troops, oppoſed to treble their number, will never be withheld by a generous nation; and, after the obſtinate conflicts this army experienced with the Americans, let not that people, now prejudice is done away, be again ſtigmatized with cowardice. It were inconſiſtent, as well as abſurd, to ſuppoſe that a people, who are the counterpart of ourſelves, ſhould not inherit ſimilar proweſs and courage.

During the whole of this arduous engagement was Lady Harriet in hearing, as well as within reach, of one inceſſant fire of cannon and muſketry, and under the continual dread, from the poſt her huſband filled at the head of the grenadiers, that he would be the next brought in, maimed and breathleſs; ſince he commanded in the moſt expoſed part of the action. She had three female companions, the Baroneſs of Reideſel, and the wives of two Britiſh officers, Major Harnage and Lieutenant Reynell; but in the event their preſence ſerved for but little comfort. Major Harnage was ſoon brought to the ſurgeons deſperately wounded; and a little after came intelligence that Lieutenant Reynell was ſhot dead on the ſpot. Imagination will want no helps to form a competent idea of the diſtreſſing ſcene to which theſe amiable women were reduced.

From the date of that action, to the 7th of October following, Lady Harriet, with her uſual ſerenity, ſtood prepared for new trials! and it was her lot that their ſeverity increaſed with their number. The two armies were ſo near together, that not a night paſſed without firing; and ſometimes concerted attacks were made upon the advanced corps of the Britiſh, in which Colonel Achland was always poſted. On the 7th of October the two armies formally engaged, and a ſevere conflict enſued; during the whole of which Lady Harriet was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, and finally received the ſhock of her individual misfortune, mixed with the intelligence of the general calamity,—the troops were defeated—Sir Francis Clarke was killed—General Fraſer expiring—and Colonel Achland deſperately wounded, and taken priſoner!

The whole of the next day was a continuation of the ſame inauſpicious beginning. Lady Harriet and her companions ſtill partook of the common anxiety; not a tent nor a ſhed being left ſtanding, except what belonged to the ſurgeons, their refuge was among the wounded and the dying. An awful ſcene, however, was yet to come; as if enough had not occurred to touch their ſenſibility, or excite their feelings. Early in the morning of the 8th, General Fraſer breathed his laſt; and, with the moſt perfect reſignation and compoſure, requeſted that he might be carried, by the ſoldiers of his own corps, to the great redoubt where he received his wound, and there buried. About ſun-ſet this ſolemn office was put in execution; and the corpſe was carried up the hill, under circumſtances ſcarcely to be deſcribed. To arrive at the great redoubt, the proceſſion was obliged to paſs within view of the greateſt part of both armies. The inceſſant cannonade during the ſolemnity—the ſteady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dirt, which the falling of the cannon balls threw upon all ſides of him and over his book—the mute but expreſſive mixture of ſenſibility and indignation upon every countenance at ſo unfeeling a procedure, are objects that will remain to the laſt of life upon the minds of every one who was preſent. The growing duſkineſs added to the awful ſcenery of the evening; and the whole marked a character of that intereſting conjuncture, that would make one of the fineſt ſubjects, for the pencil of a maſter, that the field of battle ever exhibited.

This ſolemnity was no ſooner performed, than Lady Harriet made application to General Burgoyne, entreating him to afford her ſuch aſſiſtance as would enable her to paſs to the camp of the enemy, in order to requeſt permiſſion of General Gates to attend her wounded huſband. General Burgoyne, though ſenſible that patience and fortitude, in a ſupreme degree, are ſometimes found, as well as every other virtue, in the moſt delicate of the ſex, was nevertheleſs aſtoniſhed at the propoſal. After ſo long an agitation of the ſpirits, exhauſted not only for want of reſt, but abſolutely for want of food, drenched in rains for ſeveral days together, that a woman ſhould be capable of ſuch an undertaking as delivering herſelf to the enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands ſhe might firſt fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The aſſiſtance ſhe required was however readily afforded her by the general,

neral, as far as circumſtances would permit. She was furniſhed with an open boat, a little rum, and dirty water; and General Burgoyne addreſſed a few little to General Gates, recommending her to his protection.

Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain in the artillery, who officiated ſo ſignally at General Fraſer's funeral, readily undertook to accompany her; and with one female ſervant, and the colonel's valet de chambre, ſhe rowed down the river to meet the enemy. But her diſtreſſes were not yet to end. The night was far advanced before ſhe reached the enemy's out-poſts, and the centinel was not only with difficulty reſtrained from firing upon them, but he would not let them paſs, nor even come on-ſhore. In vain Mr. Brudenell offered the flag of truce, and repreſented the ſtate of this extraordinary paſſenger. The guard, apprehenſive of treachery, and punctilious to their orders, inſiſted on their remaining in the boat, on the ſpot where they then were, until the morning; and, if the boat attempted to ſtir from the place, he would fire into it. Lady Achland's anxiety and ſufferings were thus protracted through ſeven long hours of darkneſs and cold; and her reflections upon this firſt reception could give her no very flattering ideas of the treatment ſhe was afterwards to expect. But it is a tribute due to juſtice, at the cloſe of this adventure, to ſay, that ſhe was received and accommodated by General Gates, with all the humanity and reſpect that her rank, her merits, and her misfortunes, deſerved; and, ſhe was eſcorted to her huſband, through the American army, with a generoſity and reſpectful attention, at leaſt equal to the philantrophy and humanity of Alexander to his illuſtrious captives of the Perſian empire.

Let ſuch as are affected by theſe circumſtances of alarm, hardſhip, and danger, recollect that the ſubject of them was a woman—of the moſt tender and delicate frame—of the gentleſt manners—habituated to all the ſoft elegances, and refined enjoyments, that attend high birth, and fortune; and far advanced in a ſtate in which the tender cares, always due to the ſex, become indiſpenſibly neceſſary. Her mind roſe ſuperior to all the difficulties that ſurrounded her, and ſeemed alone formed for ſuch trials!—The unfortunate concluſion of that campaign has been already related, and we ſhall now reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

When the parliament met, on the 20th of November, 1777, the ſituation of the northern army was thought to be alarming, but the cataſtrophe which had then actually befallen it was little expected: the attention of the nation was chiefly drawn to the conduct of France. Notwithſtanding that court reiterated her aſſurances of being heartily diſpoſed to preſerve the peace ſubſiſting with Great Britain inviolate, yet delegates from the American congreſs were openly received by the French miniſtry; they were known to bear a public character from the Thirteen United Provinces, and the object of their miſſion could ſcarcely be miſtaken. There is no ſurer teſt of the activity and talents of a miniſter, than his procuring early and certain intelligence of the meaſures which other powers are purſuing. The miniſtry in both houſes of parliament avowed their belief of the pacific diſpoſition of France, founded on the advices they received from Lord Stormont, our ambaſſador at that court. Notwithſtanding which, on the 13th of January, 1778, a treaty of commerce between the court of Verſailles and the Thirteen United States of America, was ſigned by the French miniſter and the American plenipotentiaries; and on the 6th of the following month, another treaty was executed, whereby the two powers entered into a defenſive alliance.

On the 17th of February, Lord North brought two bills into the houſe of commons, which he meant as a means of bringing about a reconciliation between Great Britain and her American colonies. The firſt declared the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes within his majeſty's colonies, provinces, and plantations, in North America: the other enabled his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners with ſufficient powers to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, &c. of North America, for which purpoſe it appointed five commiſſioners, and endowed them with very extenſive powers; ſuch as, authorizing them to treat with the congreſs by name, as if it were a legal body; and ſo far to give it authenticity, as to ſuppoſe its acts and conceſſions binding on America; to treat with any of the provincial aſſemblies upon their preſent conſtitution, and with any individuals in their preſent civil capacities, or military commands; with General Waſhington, or any other officer. That they ſhould have a power to order a ſuſpenſion of arms: to ſuſpend the operations of all laws; and to grant all ſorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. That they ſhould have a power of reſtoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of their ancient conſtitution, as it ſtood before the troubles: and in any of theſe where the king nominated the governors, council, judges, and other magiſtrates, to nominate ſuch at their diſcretion, until his farther pleaſure was known.

As the deficiency of powers in the former commiſſioners had been objected to, whereby the congreſs had raiſed a difficulty, on pretence of the non-admiſſion of their title to be independent ſtates; this act, therefore, attempted to obviate that difficulty, by declaring, that, ſhould the Americans now claim their independence on the outſet, they ſhould not be required to renounce it, until the treaty had received its final ratification by the king and parliament of

Great Britain. The commiſſioners were thereby to be inſtructed to negociate for ſome reaſonable and moderate contribution, towards the common defence of the empire when re-united; but, to take away all pretence for not terminating this unhappy difference, the contribution was not to be inſiſted on as a *ſine qua non* of the treaty; but that, if the Americans ſhould refuſe ſo reaſonable and equitable a propoſition, they were not to complain, if hereafter they did not receive ſupport from that part of the empire, to whoſe expences they had refuſed to contribute. This was granting to America every thing ſhe could have wiſhed before her treaty with France took place, as it gave her not only a full exemption from all internal taxation, but alſo from all claims of Great Britain on their provincial aſſemblies, founded on paſt, preſent, or future, national expenditures, provided the colonies found themſelves equal to their own defence.

The five commiſſioners named were, the Commander in Chief of the land and ſea forces in America, the Earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnſtone. The two bills paſſed both houſes without a diviſion in either. That theſe conceſſions were extorted from the miniſtry by the information which they had at length received, of the league entered into between France and America, can hardly be doubted; and they ſeem to prove, what could otherwiſe have hardly been ſuppoſed, that the aſſurances given by France, of her determination to take no part in the quarrel between Great Britain and her colonies, had gained full credit with them, until the two treaties were actually ſigned.

M. de Noailles, the French ambaſſador at the court of London, having ſignified to the ſecretary of ſtate, that ſuch treaties had been ratified at Paris, that they were founded on the actual independence of America, and in no reſpect ſtipulated for any excluſive commercial advantages on either ſide, he concluded his declaration with expreſſing the hopes of the king his maſter, that this alliance would not break off that harmony which then ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms; but at all events the French king was determined to protect the lawful commerce of his ſubjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag.

Meſſages to both houſes of parliament were delivered from his majeſty on the 17th of March, 1778, accompanied with the above declaration; whereupon addreſſes were preſented, full of the warmeſt aſſurances of ſupport, and inveighing againſt the unjuſt and unprovoked conduct of France. The French ambaſſador received notice to quit the kingdom, and Lord Stormont was recalled from Paris. No declaration of war followed on either ſide, although great preparations were made: ſixty thouſand ſeamen, including eleven thouſand marines, were voted for the ſervice of 1778. The whole expence of the navy for that year, amounted to upwards of five millions.

The Americans, in the mean time, aſſiduouſly employed their agents at the courts of Spain, Vienna, Pruſſia, and Tuſcany, in order, if poſſible, to conclude alliances with them, or at leaſt to procure an acknowledgment of their independency. As it had been reported that Britain intended to apply for aſſiſtance to Ruſſia, the American commiſſioners were enjoined to uſe their utmoſt influence with the German princes to prevent ſuch auxiliaries from marching through their territories, and to endeavour to procure the recal of the German troops already ſent to America; and, ſhould Great Britain, by their joint endeavours, be diſpoſſed of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, theſe territories ſhould be divided betwixt the two nations, and Great Britain be totally excluded from the fiſhery. The propoſals to the Spaniſh court were, that, in caſe they ſhould think proper to eſpouſe the quarrel, the American

States ſhould aſſiſt in reducing Penſacola under the dominion of Spain, provided their ſubjects were allowed the free navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi, and the uſe of the harbour of Penſacola; and they farther offered, that, if agreeable to Spain, they would declare war againſt Portugal, ſhould that power expel the American ſhips from its ports.

In the mean time, the troops under General Burgoyne were preparing to embark for Britain, according to the convention at Saratoga; but, to their utter ſurpriſe, congreſs poſitively refuſed to allow them to depart, under pretence that ſome ſiniſter deſigns were harboured on the part of Britain, and that they only wanted an opportunity to join the other troops at Philadelphia or New York.

The ſeaſon for action was now approaching; and congreſs was indefatigable in its preparations for a new campaign, which it was confidently ſaid would be the laſt. Among other methods taken for this purpoſe, it was recommended to all the young gentlemen of the colonies to form themſelves into bodies of cavalry to ſerve at their own expence during the war. General Waſhington, at the ſame time, in order to remove all incumbrances from his army, lightened the baggage as much as poſſible, by ſubſtituting ſacks and portmanteaus in place of cheſts and boxes, and uſing pack-horſes inſtead of waggons.

On the other hand, the Britiſh army, expecting to be ſpeedily reinforced by 20,000 men, thought of nothing but concluding the war according to their wiſhes before the end of the campaign. It was with the utmoſt concern, as well as indignation, therefore, that they received the news of Lord North's conciliatory bill. It was univerſally looked upon as a national diſgrace; and ſome even tore the cockades from their hats, and trampled them under their feet as a token of their indignation. By the coloniſts it was received with indifference. The Britiſh commiſſioners endeavoured to make it as public as poſſible; and the congreſs, as formerly, ordered it to be printed in all the newſpapers. On this occaſion Governor Tryon incloſed ſeveral copies of the bill to General Waſhington in a letter, entreating that he would allow them to be circulated; to which that general returned for anſwer a copy of a newſpaper in which the bill was printed, together with the reſolutions of congreſs upon it. Theſe were, That whoever preſumed to make a ſeparate agreement with Britain ſhould be deemed a public enemy; that the United States could not with any propriety keep correſpondence with the commiſſioners until their independence was acknowledged, and the Britiſh fleets and armies removed from America. At the ſame time, the colonies were warned not to ſuffer themſelves to be deceived into ſecurity by any offers that might be made; but to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſend their quotas with all diligence into the field. The individuals with whom the commiſſioners converſed on the ſubject of the conciliatory bill, generally returned for anſwer, that the day of reconciliation was paſt; and the haughtineſs of Britain had extinguiſhed all filial regard in the breaſts of the Americans.

About this time alſo Mr. Silas Deane arrived from France with two copies of the treaty of commerce and alliance to be ſigned by congreſs. Advices of the moſt pleaſing nature were alſo received from various parts, repreſenting in the moſt favourable light the diſpoſitions of the European powers; all of whom, it was ſaid, wiſhed to ſee the independence of America ſettled upon the moſt firm and permanent baſis. Conſidering the ſituation of matters with the coloniſts at this time, therefore, it is no wonder that the commiſſioners found themſelves unable to accompliſh the errand on which they came. Their propoſals were utterly rejected, themſelves treated as ſpies, and all intercourſe with them interdicted.

But, before any final anſwer could be obtained from congreſs, Sir Henry Clinton had taken the reſolution of evacuating Philadelphia. Accordingly, on the 10th of June, after having made all neceſſary preparations, the army marched out of the city, and croſſed the Delaware before noon with all its baggage and other incumbrances. General Waſhington, appriſed of this deſign, had diſpatched expreſſes into the Jerſeys with orders to collect the forces that could be aſſembled, to obſtruct the march of the enemy. After various movements on both ſides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived on the 27th of June at a place called *Freehold*; where, judging that the enemy would attack him, he encamped in a very ſtrong ſituation. Here General Waſhington determined to make an attack as ſoon as the army had again begun its march. The night was ſpent in making the neceſſary preparations, and General Lee with his diviſion was ordered to be ready by day-break. But Sir Henry Clinton, juſtly apprehending that the chief object of the enemy was the baggage, committed it to the care of General Knyphauſen, whom he ordered to ſet out early in the morning, while he followed with the reſt of the army. The attack was accordingly made; but the Britiſh general had taken ſuch care to arrange his troops properly, and ſo effectually ſupported his forces when engaged with the Americans, that the latter not only made no impreſſion, but were with difficulty preſerved from a total defeat by the arrival of General Waſhington with the whole army. The Britiſh troops effected their retreat with the loſs of 300 men, of whom many died through fatigue. In this action General Lee was charged by General Waſhington with diſobedience and miſconduct in retreating before the Britiſh army: he was tried by a court-martial, and ſentenced to a temporary ſuſpenſion from his command. After they had arrived at Sandy Hook, a bridge of boats was by Lord Howe's directions thrown over the channel which ſeparated the iſland from the main land, and the troops were conveyed on-board the fleet; after which they ſailed to New York. After ſending ſome light detachments to watch the enemy's motions, General Waſhington marched towards the North River, where a great force had been collected to join him, and where it was now expected that ſome capital operations would take place.

In the mean time, France had ſet about her preparations for the aſſiſtance of the Americans. On the 14th of April, Count d'Eſtaing ſailed from Toulon with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of the line and frigates, and arrived on the coaſt of Virginia in the beginning of July, while the Britiſh fleet was employed in conveying the forces from Sandy Hook to New York. It conſiſted of one ſhip of 90 guns, one of 80, ſix of 74, and four of 64, beſides ſeveral large frigates; and, excluſive of its complement of ſailors, had 6000 marines and ſoldiers on-board. To oppoſe this, the Britiſh had only ſix ſhips of 64 guns, three of 50, and two of 40, with ſome frigates and ſloops. Notwithſtanding this inferiority, however, the Britiſh admiral poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, and ſhewed ſuch ſuperior courage and ſkill, that d'Eſtaing did not think proper to attack him. He therefore remained at anchor four miles off Sandy Hook, till the 22d of July, without effecting any thing more than the capture of ſome veſſels, which, through ignorance of his arrival, fell into his hands.

At this time, the Britiſh fleet was in a very weak condition, but the valour and experience of the officers ſeemed in ſome meaſure to compenſate that defect. The chief command was given to Admiral Keppel, who had ſerved with uncommon reputation during the laſt war. Admirals Sir Robert Harland and Sir Hugh Palliſer ſerved under him, both of them officers of undoubted courage and capacity. Arriving at Portſmouth towards the end of March, 1778, Admiral

Keppel exerted himſelf with ſo much induſtry and diligence, that, excluſive of thoſe ſhips, which it was found neceſſary to diſpatch to the coaſt of North America under Admiral Byron, a fleet of twenty ſail of the line was got in complete readineſs by the beginning of June, and ten more in a forward ſtate of preparation. At the head of this fleet Admiral Keppel ſailed from Portſmouth on the 13th of June, in order to protect the vaſt number of commercial ſhipping expected from all parts of the world, and at the ſame time to watch the motion of the French fleet at Breſt.

On the arrival of the Britiſh fleet off the coaſt of France, two French frigates approached it, in order to make their obſervations. Theſe were the Licorne of 32 guns, and the Belle Poule of 26. In conſequence of a ſignal to give chaſe, the Milford frigate overtook the Licorne towards the cloſe of day, and requeſted the French captain to come under the Britiſh admiral's ſtern; upon his refuſal, a ſhip of the line came up, and compelled him to come into the fleet. Next morning, the Licorne ſeeming by her motions to be altering her courſe, a ſhot was fired acroſs her way as a ſignal for keeping it. Hereupon ſhe diſcharged a broadſide and a volley of ſmall arms into the America of 64 guns that lay cloſe to her, and immediately ſtruck. The behaviour of the French captain was the more aſtoniſhing, as Lord Longford, captain of the America, was at that inſtant engaged in converſation with him in terms of civility; but, though ſuch behaviour certainly merited ſevere chaſtiſement, no hoſtile return was made.

The Arethuſa of 26 guns, commanded by Captain Marſhal, with the Alert cutter, was meanwhile in purſuit of the Belle Poule, that was alſo accompanied by a ſchooner, and the chaſe was continued till they were both out of ſight of the fleet. On his coming up, he informed the French captain of his orders to bring him to the admiral, and requeſted his compliance. This being refuſed, the Arethuſa fired a ſhot acroſs the Belle Poule, which ſhe returned with a diſcharge of her broadſide. The engagement thus begun, continued more than two hours with uncommon warmth and fury. The Belle Poule was greatly ſuperior not only in number, but in the weight of her metal: her guns were all twelve-pounders; thoſe of the Arethuſa only ſix: notwithſtanding this inferiority, ſhe maintained ſo deſperate a fight, that the French frigate ſuffered a much greater loſs of men than the Britiſh. The ſlain and wounded on-board the former, amounted, by their own account, to near 100; on-board the latter they were not half that proportion.

Captain Fairfax in the Alert, during the engagement between the two frigates, attacked the French ſchooner, which being of much the ſame force, the diſpute continued two hours with great bravery on both ſides, when ſhe ſtruck to the Engliſh cutter.

The Arethuſa received ſo much damage, that ſhe became almoſt unmanageable; the captain endeavoured to put her into ſuch a poſition, as to continue the engagement; but was unable to do it. Being at the ſame time upon the enemy's coaſt, and cloſe on the ſhore, the danger of grounding in ſuch a ſituation obliged him to act with the more caution, as it was midnight. The Belle Poule, in the mean time, ſtood into a ſmall bay ſurrounded with rocks, where ſhe was protected from all attacks: ſhe had ſuffered ſo much, that the captain, apprehending that ſhe could not ſtand another engagement, had reſolved, in caſe he found himſelf in danger of one, to run her aground; but her ſituation prevented any ſuch attempt; and, as ſoon as it was day-light, a number of boats came out from ſhore, and towed her into a place of ſafety. Notwithſtanding the evident and great ſuperiority on the ſide of the French, this action was extolled by them as a proof of ſingular bravery, and the account of it received with as much triumph as if it had been a victory.

On the 18th of June, the day following the engagement with the Belle Poule, another frigate fell in with the Britiſh fleet; and was captured by the admiral's orders, on account of the behaviour of the Licorne.

The capture of theſe French frigates produced ſuch intelligence to the admiral, as proved of the utmoſt importance, at the ſame time that it was highly alarming. He was informed that the fleet at Breſt conſiſted of thirty-two ſhips of the line and twelve frigates. This was in every reſpect a moſt fortunate diſcovery, as he had no more with him than twenty ſhips of the line and three frigates. The ſuperiority of the enemy being ſuch as neither ſkill nor courage could oppoſe in his preſent circumſtances; and as the conſequences of a defeat muſt have been fatal to this country, he thought himſelf bound in prudence to return to Portſmouth for a reinforcement. Here he arrived on the 27th of June, and remained there till the ſhips from the Mediterranean, and the Spaniſh and Portugueſe trade and the ſummer fleet from the Weſt Indies, coming home, brought him a ſupply of ſeamen, and enabled him to put to ſea again, with an addition of ten ſhips of the line. But ſtill there was a great deficiency of frigates, owing to the great numbers that were on the American ſtation, and the neceſſity of manning the ſhips of the line preferably to all others.

In the mean time, the preparations at Breſt being fully completed, the French fleet put to ſea on the 8th of July. It conſiſted of thirty-two ſail of the line, beſides a large number of frigates. Count d'Orvilliers commanded in chief. The other principal officers in this fleet were the Counts Duchaffault, de Guichen, and de Graſſe; Monſieur de Rochechoart, and Monſieur de la Motte Piquet. A prince of the blood royal had alſo been ſent to ſerve on-board of this fleet; this was the Duke of Chartres, ſon and heir to the Duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood royal of France in the collateral line. He commanded one of the diviſions in quality of admiral.

On the 9th of July, the Britiſh fleet ſailed out of Portſmouth in three diviſions; the firſt commanded by Sir Robert Harland, the third by Sir Hugh Palliſer, and the centre by Admiral Keppel, accompanied by Admiral Campbell, an officer of great courage and merit. The French had been informed that the Britiſh fleet was greatly inferior to their own; which was but too true at the time when they received this information. Being yet unappriſed of the reinforcement it was returned with, the admiral ſailed at firſt in queſt of it, intending to attack it while in the weak condition it had been repreſented to him.

As the Britiſh admiral was equally intent on coming to action as ſoon as poſſible, they were not long before they met. On the 23d of July they came in ſight. But the appearance of the Britiſh ſhips ſoon convinced the French admiral of his miſtake, and he immediately determined to avoid an engagement no leſs cautiouſly than he had eagerly ſought it before. Herein he was favoured by the approach of night: all that could be done on the part of the Britiſh was to form the line of battle in expectation that the enemy would do the ſame. During the night the wind changed ſo favourably for the French, as to give them the weather-gage. This, putting the choice of coming to action, or of declining it, entirely in their own power, deprived the Britiſh admiral of the opportunity of forcing them to engage as he had propoſed.

During the ſpace of four days, the French had the option of coming to action; but conſtantly exerted their utmoſt care and induſtry to avoid it. The Britiſh fleet continued the whole time beating up againſt the wind, evidently with a reſolution to attack them. But, notwithſtanding the vigour and ſkill manifeſted in this purſuit, the Britiſh admiral had the mortification to ſee his endeavours continually eluded by the vigilance and precaution of the enemy not to loſe the leaſt advantage that wind and weather could afford.

The chaſe laſted till the 27th of July. Between ten and eleven in the morning, an alteration of wind and weather occaſioned ſeveral motions in both fleets, that brought them, unintentionally on the part of the French, and chiefly through the dexterous management of the Britiſh admiral, ſo near each other, that it was no longer in their power to decline an engagement. They were then in lat. 48. 38. Uſhant diſtant 27 leagues E. half S. Both fleets were on the ſame tack: had they ſo remained, the Britiſh fleet on coming up with the French would have had an opportunity of a fair engagement, ſhip to ſhip; which would hardly have failed of proving very deciſive: but this was a manner of combating quite contrary to the wiſhes of the French admiral. Inſtead of receiving the Britiſh fleet in this poſition, as ſoon as he found that an action muſt enſue, he put his ſhips on the contrary tack, that, ſailing in oppoſite directions, they might only fire at each other as they paſſed by. By this means a cloſe and ſidelong action would be effectually evaded. As ſoon as the van of the Britiſh fleet, conſiſting of Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, came up, they directed their fire upon it; but at too great a diſtance to make any impreſſion: the fire was not returned by the Britiſh ſhips till they came cloſe up to the enemy, and were ſure of doing execution. In this manner they all paſſed cloſe along-ſide each other in oppoſite directions, making a very heavy and deſtructive fire.

The centre diviſion of the Britiſh line having paſſed the rearmoſt ſhips of the enemy, the firſt care of the admiral was to effect a renewal of the engagement, as ſoon as the ſhips of the different fleets, yet in action, had got clear of each other reſpectively. Sir Robert

Harland, with ſome ſhips of his diviſion, had already tacked, and ſtood towards the French; but the remaining part of the fleet had not yet tacked, and ſome were dropped to leeward, and repairing the damages they had received in the action. His own ſhip the Victory had ſuffered too much to tack about inſtantly; and, had he done it, he would have thrown the ſhips aſtern of him into diſorder. As ſoon as it was practicable, however, the the Victory wore, and ſteered again upon the enemy before any other ſhip of the centre diviſion: of which not above three or four were able to do the ſame. The other ſhips not having recovered their ſtations near enough to ſupport each other on a renewal of action, in order to collect them more readily for that purpoſe, he made the ſignal for the line of battle a-head. It was now three in the afternoon; but the ſhips of the Britiſh fleet had not ſufficiently regained their ſtations to engage. The Victory lay neareſt the enemy, with the four ſhips above-mentioned, and ſeven more of Sir Robert Harland's diviſion. Theſe twelve were the only ſhips in any condition for immediate ſervice; of the others belonging to the centre and to Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, three were a great way aſtern, and five at a conſiderable diſtance to leeward, much diſabled in their rigging.

Sir Hugh Palliſer who commanded the rear diviſion during the time of action, in which he behaved with ſignal bravery, came of courſe the laſt out of it; and in conſequence of the admiral's ſignal for the line, was to have led the van on renewing the fight; but his diviſion was upon a contrary tack, and was entirely out of the line. The French, on the other hand, expecting directly to be re-attacked, had cloſed together in tacking, and were now ſpreading themſelves into a line of battle. On diſcovering the poſition of the Britiſh ſhips that were fallen to leeward, they immediately ſtood towards them, in order to cut them off. This obliged the admiral to wear and ſteer athwart the enemy's foremoſt diviſion, in order to ſecure them; directing, at the ſame time, Sir Robert Harland to form his diviſion in a line aſtern, in order to face the enemy till Sir Hugh Palliſer could come up, and enable him to act more effectually.

The admiral, in moving to the protection of the leeward ſhips, was now drawing near the enemy. As Sir Hugh Palliſer ſtill continued to windward, he made a ſignal for all the ſhips in that poſition to come into his wake: Sir Hugh Palliſer repeated this ſignal; but it was unluckily miſtaken by the ſhips of his diviſion as an order to come into his own wake, which they did accordingly; and as he ſtill remained in his poſition, they retained theirs of courſe.

Sir Robert Harland was now directed to take his ſtation ahead, and the ſignal repeated for Sir Hugh Palliſer's diviſion to come into his wake; but this ſignal was not complied with, any more than a verbal meſſage to that purpoſe, and other ſubſequent ſignals for that diviſion's coming into its ſtation in the line, before it was too late to re-commence any operations againſt the enemy.

In the night, the French took the determination to put it wholly out of the power of the Britiſh fleet to attack them a ſecond time. For this purpoſe, three of their ſwifteſt ſailing veſſels were fixed in the ſtations occupied during the day by the three admiral ſhips of the reſpective diviſions, with lights at the maſt-heads, to deceive the Britiſh fleet into the belief that the French fleet kept its poſition with an intent to fight next morning. Protected by this ſtratagem, the remainder of the French drew off unperceived and unſuſpected during the night, and retired with all ſpeed towards Breſt: they continued this retreat the whole courſe of the following day, and entered the port in the evening. Their departure was not diſcovered till break of day; but it was too late to purſue them, as they were only diſcernible from the maſt-heads of the largeſt ſhips in the Britiſh fleet. The three ſhips that had remained with the lights were purſued: but the veſſels that chaced them were ſo unable to overtake them from the damages they had received in the preceding day's engagement, that they were quickly recalled; and the admiral made the beſt of his way to Plymouth, as being the neareſt port, in order to put his fleet into a proper condition to return in queſt of the enemy.

The killed and wounded on-board the Britiſh fleet amounted to ſomewhat more than 500; but the French, it has been aſſerted on grounds of great credibility, loſt 3000. This appears the leſs improbable, from the conſideration that the French, in all their naval engagements, aim principally at the maſt and rigging, and the Britiſh chiefly at the body of the ſhips.

On the 23d of Auguſt, Admiral Keppel ſailed again with twenty-eight ſail of the line, and was joined on the 11th of September by the Defence, Suffolk, and Egmont. In this cruiſe nothing was ſeen of the French fleet, which having gone out of Breſt on the 18th of Auguſt, returned the 18th of September, having cruiſed during that time off Cape Finiſterre, and in that direction. The Britiſh fleet twice chaſed the Reflechi, and made prize of ſeveral Weſt-Indiamen, bound to Nantes and Bourdeaux. The Porcupine, Captain Finch, and Fox, Captain Windſor, being diſpatched to reconnoitre, the former fell in with and took the Modeſte Eaſt-Indiaman, and the latter was taken by the Juno and carried into Breſt. Another of our frigates called the Minerva, was alſo taken and carried into the ſame port. Two more French Eaſt-Indiamen were taken in the courſe of the ſummer; one of which was named the Gaſton, and was taken by two Liverpool privateers; the other Les Deux Amis, taken by the Knight privateer from the ſame place.

No ſooner had a rupture with France become inevitable, than Admiral Byron was ſent to America with a powerful fleet, but badly equipped and provided. This armament was appointed to repair to New-York, but a long ſeries of tempeſtuous weather threatened the whole fleet with deſtruction, the ſhips were ſeparated, ſome returned to England little better than wrecks, others with great difficulty reached different harbours on the widely-extended coaſt of America. Some of theſe ſhips joined Lord Howe at New York, and proved of great ſervice. St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken from the French by Commodore Evans, being ſent by Admiral Montague, who commanded at Halifax. To counterbalance which, the Marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinico, invaded Dominica, which was very ill prepared for a defence, not having one hundred ſoldiers on the iſland, whilſt two hundred and ſixty cannon, and an ample proviſion of warlike ſtores, ſerved inſtead of contributing to the defence of the place, only to heighten the value of its conqueſt.

On the American continental coaſt, the Britiſh fleet was not inactive, and great numbers of prizes rewarded the vigilance of the cruiſers. An expedition up the Delaware under Major Maitland and Captain Henry, of the navy, proved very ſucceſsful; no fewer than forty American armed veſſels being ſet on fire, between Philadelphia and Trenton, two of which were frigates, mounting twenty-eight and thirty-two guns. At the ſame time Lieutenant-colonel Campbell and Captain Clayton, of the navy, proceeding from Rhode Iſland, deſtroyed one hundred and twenty-five boats in Hickamanet river.

No ſooner was the army ſafely repoſed at New York, as mentioned before, p. 78, than the Britiſh cruiſers gave notice that the French fleet which was ſailed from Toulon, and was commanded by the Count d'Eſtaing, had appeared off the coaſt of Virginia. Had he reached that continent whilſt the army was on its march, he might not only have effected the entire deſtruction of the Britiſh fleet under Lord Howe, but the army under Sir Henry Clinton would have been unable to ſubſiſt, as the French admiral, by being maſter at ſea, would cut off all ſupplies, whereby the ſouthern army would have been gradually reduced to the forlorn condition into which the northern one was brought eight months before. Had the fleet and army at that time been ſtationed on the Delaware and at Philadelphia, the conſequences of an attack would have been no leſs fatal; but ſtorms and contrary winds had ſo long detained this fleet, armed with deſtruction, that all the train of evils which might have exalted the naval power of France on the ruin of this country, were happily prevented.

Still, however, d'Eſtaing might have reaped advantages which he neglected: he loitered in Cheſapeak-bay and the Delaware, inſtead of proceeding immediately to New York; this delay gave Lord Howe an opportunity of preparing for his reception; and on the 11th of July he anchored off Sandy-hook, with fifteen ſail, conſiſting of a ninety and eighty gun ſhip, ſix of ſeventy-four, three of ſixty-four, one of fifty, and three large frigates, with eleven thouſand men on-board. On the other hand the Britiſh fleet under Lord Howe conſiſted of ſix 64-gun ſhips, three of 50, and two of 40 guns.

The ardour which was univerſally ſhewn in repelling this unexpected attack, gave the moſt flattering teſtimony of the high eſteem and even veneration in which the commanders were held, and as the approach to New York was obſtructed by a bar, the French aſſailant had no ſmall difficulty to ſurmount. Had the attempt been made the conflict would have been dreadful, and might have ſurpaſſed any thing known in naval hiſtory; but the talents of d'Eſtaing were better diſplayed in actions of the *petite guerre*, than in ſuch important attempts.

D'Eſtaing continued at anchor until the 21ſt, when, without making any attack, he quitted the coaſt, and bore away to the ſouthward, after having made many valuable prizes during his ſhort continuance on that ſtation. Lord Howe was ſoon after reinforced with the Renown, of 50 guns, from the Weſt-Indies; and on the 28th the Raiſonable, of 64 guns, arrived from Halifax; and two days after the Cornwall of 74, one of Admiral Byron's fleet, and Centurion of 50 guns, came in from the ſame place.

This ſeaſonable acceſſion of ſtrength determined the admiral to ſail out in queſt of the French fleet, which, by this time, was known to have directed its courſe to Rhode Iſland. He left New York on the 6th, and arrived on the 9th of Auguſt in the evening, at Point Judith, about three leagues from Newport, where d'Eſtaing had arrived on the 29th of July.

The plan concerted between the Americans and their allies, was, that a body of provincials ſhould make a deſcent on the northern extremity of Rhode Iſland, whilſt the French fleet aſſailed the town of Newport, and the Britiſh lines contiguous to the harbour. General Sullivan commanded theſe troops, which amounted to about ten thouſand men, drawn from the northern colonies. As the operations of the French fleet were regulated by thoſe of the army on the land, d'Eſtaing continued inactive until Sullivan was in a condition to paſs over from the continent to the northern end of the iſland. On the 30th of July, the Kingfiſher ſloop, of 18 guns, and two armed veſſels, were ſet on fire, and a few days after four frigates of 32 guns each, (the Orpheus, Flora, Juno, and Lark;) were likewiſe deſtroyed. On the 8th of Auguſt, the French fleet, which had continued at anchor from its firſt appearance, about three miles from the mouth of the harbour, ſtood in, under an eaſy ſail, cannonading the batteries and town as they paſſed, and receiving their fire, without any material effect on either ſide.

They

They anchored above the town, between Goat-iſland and Conanicut, but nearer to the latter, on which both the French and Americans had parties.

The force under Lord Howe was greatly inferior to that of the French in weight of metal, but ſuperior both in number of ſhips and in their condition; they were alſo well manned, and commanded by officers of tried bravery and ſkill. On the arrival of the Britiſh fleet, the enemy was ſo diſperſed, that many have thought it would have been no raſh act immediately to have attacked them. Only ten ſail of the line had entered the harbour, the other two ſhips of the French line were up the Narraganſet paſſage; and two of their frigates in the Seaconnet paſſage.

On the 10th, the wind changed to the north-eaſt, which enabled d'Eſtaing to ſail out in full force, having twelve two-decked ſhips; and as he poſſeſſed the weather-gage, Lord Howe deemed it imprudent to attack him whilſt joining accidental advantages to his ſuperior force. Every manœuvre which conſummate ſeamanſhip could ſuggeſt was put in practice, to gain the wind, but all attempts were baffled by the counter movements of the enemy, and as the wind continued fixed in the ſame quarter, the whole of the 11th was ſpent in tackings. The admiral deſpairing of bettering his ſituation, about four o'clock in the evening threw out a ſignal for the ſhips to cloſe to the centre, and form in line of battle a-head, and in that poſition he waited the approach of the enemy, who was between two and three miles diſtant.

Lord Howe, in conducting the operations of the fleet under his command, adopted a mode of conduct altogether unknown to former naval commanders, and which indeed none but thoſe of acknowledged bravery could adopt, without incurring imputations on their character: he removed from the Eagle of 64 guns, to the Apollo frigate, that he might be better ſituated for directing the ſubſequent operations of the ſquadron. A ſea-fight of a very ſingular kind was now about to be entered upon, in which the weight of metal was to be oppoſed to the dextrous working of ſmaller ſhips, more numerous, and poſſeſſing all the advantages of Britiſh ſeamanſhip. The brilliancy of Lord Howe's courage had appeared on many trying occaſions; it was generally acknowledged, that in the naval line he had not a ſuperior; a moſt rare opportunity now preſented itſelf for the diſplay of his profeſſional ſkill. Hitherto, during the American war, the naval commander in chief had no opportunity of eminently diſtinguiſhing himſelf; this was the preciſe point of time for doing it; but, whilſt the battle was thus put in array, a ſtrong gale of wind aroſe, which in a ſhort time increaſed to a violent tempeſt that continued for near forty-eight hours. This entirely changed the nature of the conflict, and both fleets had to contend with the enraged elements, inſtead of each other. The ſtorm ſoon diſperſed the ſhips of both ſquadrons, and threatened them with deſtruction. The Apollo, with the admiral on-board, ſprung her main-maſt, and loſt her foremaſt; he therefore went on-board the Phœnix as ſoon as the weather became more moderate; that frigate he ſoon after quitted for the Centurion; but on ſeeing ten ſail of the French ſquadron at anchor, about twenty five leagues eaſtward of Cape May, his lordſhip left the Centurion in a proper ſtation to watch their motions, and to direct any Britiſh ſhips that might arrive; and, again going on-board the Phœnix, arrived off Sandy-hook on the evening of the 17th, that place being the rendezvous appointed in caſe of a ſeparation.

The only material damage ſuſtained by the Britiſh fleet was, the Cornwall ſpringing her main maſt, and the Raiſonable her bowſprit, beſides the damage already mentioned to the Apollo. The French ſuffered greatly; the Languedoc and Tonnant, their moſt capital ſhips, being diſmaſted, and others much damaged.

The firſt of theſe, d'Eſtaing's own ſhip, carrying 90 guns, when reduced to this condition, was met on the evening of the 13th by the Renown of 50 guns, Captain Dawſon, who attacked her with ſuch fury as well as judgment and advantage, that the count was in imminent danger of becoming once more a priſoner to the Engliſh. After he had poured ſeveral broadſides cloſe into his antagoniſt, and had ſhot away her rudder, he lay to, as cloſe as poſſible, for the night, intending to renew the attack in the morning, and conſidering her as little leſs than a certain prize. But in this expectation he was unfortunately diſappointed by the appearance of ſix French men of war, who gave him chace, and reſcued their commander and his ſhip from the fate which awaited them.

Nor was Captain Dawſon the only officer who ſeized this favourable opportunity of attacking large ſhips with thoſe of inferior force. Commodore Hotham of the Preſton, a 50-gun ſhip, fell in with the Tonnant of 80 guns, which he attacked with great intrepidity, about the ſame time that the Renown was engaging the Languedoc; but night intervening, he too was obliged to deſiſt, and in the morning his expected prize was reſcued by the appearance of the French fleet.

Theſe occurrences, though productive of no national benefit, diſplayed the bravery and ſkill of our officers and ſeamen to great advantage. The national character was yet farther ſhewn in the condnct of Captain Raynor in the Iſis of 50 guns. This ſhip had performed ſignal ſervices during the war: by its ſeaſonable arrival at Quebec, when that city was blockaded by Arnold in 1776, General Carleton was enabled to drive away the enemy; the next year ſhe was no leſs ſerviceable in opening the navigation of the Delaware, by ſilencing the American batteries. This ſhip was now chaſed by the Ceſar, a French 74 gun ſhip. The Frenchman was much the better ſailer, and each ſhip had eſcaped unhurt from the tempeſt. Captain Raynor found it impoſſible to avoid an action, and to ſuſtain a fight with an enemy ſo much ſuperior ſeemed hardly practicable. The brave commander was not however intimidated by this diſparity of force; a deſperate engagement enſued, which continued for an hour and half, within piſtol-ſhot. By that time the Iſis had gained ſo great a ſuperiority, that the French ſhip thought proper to put before the wind, leaving the Iſis with her maſts and rigging ſo damaged as to be unable to purſue her. She had only two men killed and five wounded.

The gallantry of the Britiſh commander in this action was only equalled by his modeſty, in the account which he wrote of it. His admiral indeed in ſome meaſure ſupplied that defect, by acquainting the admiralty, that the honour of the day was not more owing to the reſolution of the captain, or the intrepidity of his officers and crew, than to the profeſſional ſkill and ability of the former.

In this ſtorm, the Senegal ſloop and Thunder bomb, being ſeparated from the Britiſh fleet, were taken by the French. The Mermaid was forced aſhore or loſt ſome time before, when the French fleet firſt appeared off the Delaware.

As the Britiſh ſhips ſuſtained no great damage by the ſtorm, and were all re-aſſembled by the 17th of Auguſt, and had been joined by the Monmouth, a 64-gun ſhip of Admiral Byron's ſquadron, it is difficult to account for their long continuance at Sandy-hook; eſpecially as it was well known that the enemy had re-aſſembled off Rhode-iſland on the 20th, and had ſailed from thence two days after, for Boſton. This delay in putting to ſea, ſaved the French fleet from deſtruction. Lord Howe entered Boſton bay on the 30th in full force, and found the enemy had preceded him in their arrival in port.

Lord Howe now reſigned his command to Rear-admiral Gambier, during the abſence of a ſuperior officer, aſſigning as a reaſon for it, his bad ſtate of health; and arrived at Portſmouth in the Eagle on the 25th of October.

Meanwhile, Sir Henry Clinton proceeded to the relief of Rhode Iſland, and arrived there on the 31ſt of Auguſt, when finding the Americans had evacuated it, he proceeded with ſome troops to New London, from whence he detached Major-general Grey to Bedford and Fair Haven; who there deſtroyed great quantities of ſtores, and ſeventy ſail of ſhips, ſome of which were privaters, among them were eight ſail of large veſſels, from two hundred to three hundred tons, moſt of them prizes, and three had been taken by Count d'Eſtaing's fleet. Proceeding to a fertile and populous iſland called Martha's Vineyard, they carried off ten thouſand ſheep and three hundred black cattle. Another expedition took place up the North River, under Lord Cornwallis and General Knyphauſen; the principal event of which was the deſtruction of a regiment of American cavalry, known by the name of Waſhington's light-horſe. A third expedition was directed to Little Egg harbour, in New Jerſey, a place noted for privateers, the deſtruction of which was its principal intention. It was conducted by Captains Ferguſon and Collins, and ended in the deſtruction of the enemy's veſſels, as well as of the place itſelf. At the ſame time part of another body of American troops, called Pulaſki's legion, was ſurpriſed, and a great number of them put to the ſword.

The Americans had in the beginning of the year projected the conqueſt of Weſt Florida; and Captain Willing, with a party of reſolute men, had made a ſucceſsful incurſion into the country. This awakened the attention of the Britiſh to the ſouthern colonies, and an expedition againſt them was reſolved on. Georgia was the place of deſtination; and, the more effectually to enſure ſucceſs, Colonel Campbell, with a ſufficient force, under convoy of ſome ſhips of war commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker, embarked at New York, while General Prevoſt, who commanded in Eaſt Florida, was directed to ſet out with all the forces he could collect. The armament from New York arrived off the coaſt of Georgia in December; and, though the enemy were ſtrongly poſted in an advantageous ſituation near the ſhore, the Britiſh troops made good their landing, and advanced towards Savannah the capital of the province. That ſame day they defeated the provincials who oppoſed them; and took poſſeſſion of the town with ſuch celerity, that the Americans had not time to execute a reſolution they had taken of ſetting it on fire. In ten days the whole province of Georgia was reduced, Sunbury alone excepted; and this was alſo brought under ſubjection by General Prevoſt in his march northward. Every proper method was taken to ſecure the tranquillity of the country; and rewards were offered for apprehending committee and aſſembly men, or ſuch as they judged moſt inimical to the Britiſh intereſt.

On the arrival of General Prevoſt, the command of the troops devolved on him as the ſenior officer; and the conqueſt of Carolina was next projected. That country contained a great number of friends to government, who now eagerly embraced the opportunity of declaring themſelves; many of the inhabitants of Georgia had joined the royal ſtandard; and there was not in the province any provincial forces capable of oppoſing the efforts of the regular and well-diſciplined troops. On the news of General Prevoſt's approach, the loyaliſts aſſembled, imagining themſelves able to ſtand their ground until their allies ſhould arrive; but in this they were diſappointed. The Americans attacked and defeated them, with the loſs of half their number. The remainder retreated into Georgia; and, after undergoing many hardſhips, at laſt effected a junction with the Britiſh forces.

In the mean time, General Lincoln, with a conſiderable

able reinforcement of American troops, had encamped within twenty miles of the town of Savannah; and another ſtrong party had poſted themſelves at a place called Briar's Creek, farther up the river of the ſame name. Thus the extent of the Britiſh government was likely to be circumſcribed within very narrow bounds. General Prevoſt therefore determined to diſlodge the party at Briar's Creek: and the latter, truſting to their ſtrong ſituation, and being remiſs in their guard, ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed on the 30th of March, 1779; when they were utterly routed, with the loſs of four hundred killed and taken, beſides a great number drowned in the river or the ſwamps. The whole artillery, ſtores, baggage, and almoſt all the arms, of this unfortunate party, were taken, ſo that they could no more make any ſtand; and thus a communication was opened with thoſe places in Carolina where the royaliſts chiefly reſided.

The victory at Briar's Creek proved of conſiderable ſervice to the Britiſh cauſe. Great numbers of the loyaliſts joined the army, and conſiderably increaſed its force. Hence General Prevoſt was enabled to ſtretch his poſts farther up the river, and to guard all the principal paſſes: ſo that General Lincoln was reduced to a ſtate of inaction; and at laſt moved off towards Auguſta, in order to protect the provincial aſſembly, which was obliged to ſit in that place, the capital being in the hands of the Britiſh. Lincoln had no ſooner quitted his poſt, than it was judged proper by the Britiſh general to put in execution the grand ſcheme which had been meditated againſt Carolina. Many difficulties indeed lay in his way. The river Savannah was ſo ſwelled by exceſſive rains, that it ſeemed impaſſable; the oppoſite ſhore was ſo full of ſwamps and marſhes, that no army could march over it without the greateſt difficulty; and, to render the paſſage ſtill more difficult, General Moultrie was left with a conſiderable body of troops to oppoſe the enemy's attempts.

tempts. Yet, in ſpite of every oppoſition, the conſtancy and perſeverance of the Britiſh forces prevailed. General Moultrie was defeated, and obliged to retire towards Charleſtown; and the victorious army, after having waded through the marſhes for ſome time, arrived in an open country, through which they purſued their march with great rapidity towards the capital; while General Lincoln remained in a ſtate of ſecurity at Auguſta, vainly imagining that the obſtacles he had left in the way could not be ſurmounted.

Intelligence of the danger to which Charleſtown was expoſed, rouſed the American general from his lethargy. A choſen body of infantry, mounted on horſeback for the greater expedition, was diſpatched before him; while Lincoln himſelf followed with all the forces he could collect. General Moultrie too, with the troops he had brought from the Savannah, and ſome others he had collected ſince his retreat from thence, had taken poſſeſſion of all the avenues leading to Charleſtown, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But all oppoſition proved ineffectual. The Americans were defeated in every encounter; and, retreating continually, allowed the Britiſh army to come within cannon-ſhot of Charleſtown on the 12th of May. The town was now ſummoned to ſurrender; and the inhabitants would gladly have agreed to obſerve a neutrality during the reſt of the war, and would alſo have engaged for the reſt of the province. But, theſe terms not being accepted, they made preparations for a vigorous defence. It was not in the power of the Britiſh commander at this time to make an attack with any proſpect of ſucceſs. His artillery was not of ſufficient weight; there were no ſhips to ſupport him by ſea; and General Lincoln, advancing rapidly with a ſuperior army, threatened to incloſe him between his own forces and the town; ſo that, ſhould he fail in his firſt attempt, certain deſtruction would be the conſequence. For theſe reaſons he withdrew his army from before the town, and took poſſeſſion of two iſlands called St. James's and St. John's, lying to the ſouthward; where, having waited for ſome time, he was reinforced by the arrival of two frigates. With theſe he determined to make himſelf maſter of Port Royal, an iſland poſſeſſed of an excellent harbour, and many other natural advantages, from its ſituation alſo commanding the ſea-coaſt from Charleſtown to Savannah River. The American general, however, did not allow this to be accompliſhed without oppoſition. Perceiving his opponent had occupied an advantageous poſt on St. John's iſland, preparatory to his enterpriſe againſt Port Royal, he attempted, on the 20th of June, to diſlodge him from it; but, after an obſtinate attack, the provincials were, as uſual, obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. On this occaſion the ſucceſs of the Britiſh was, in a great meaſure, owing to an armed ſloat; which galled the right flank of the enemy ſo effectually, that they could direct their efforts only againſt the ſtrongeſt part of the lines, which proved impregnable. This diſappointment was inſtantly followed by the loſs of Port Royal, which General Prevoſt took poſſeſſion of, and put his troops into proper ſtations, waiting for the arrival of ſuch further reinforcements as were neceſſary for the intended attack on Charleſtown.

In the mean time, Count d'Eſtaing, who put into Boſton harbour to refit, had uſed his utmoſt efforts to ingratiate himſelf with the inhabitants of that city. Zealous alſo in the cauſe of his maſter, he had publiſhed a proclamation to be diſperſed through Canada, inviting the people to return to their original friendſhip with France, and declaring, that all who renounced their allegiance to Great Britain ſhould certainly find a protector in the French king. All his endeavours, however, proved inſufficient to produce any revolution, or even to form a party of any conſequence among the Canadians.

As ſoon as the French admiral had refitted his fleet, he took the opportunity, while that of Admiral Byron had been ſhattered by a ſtorm, of ſailing to the Weſt-Indies. During his operations there, the Americans having repreſented his conduct as totally unſerviceable to them, he received orders from Europe to aſſiſt the colonies with all poſſible ſpeed. He therefore directed his courſe towards Georgia, with a deſign to recover that province, and to put it, as well as South Carolina, in ſuch a poſture of defence as would effectually ſecure them from any future attack. This ſeemed to be an eaſy matter, from the little force with which he knew he ſhould be oppoſed: and the next object in contemplation was the deſtruction of the Britiſh fleet and army at New York. Full of theſe hopes, the French commander arrived off the coaſt of Georgia with a fleet of twenty-two ſail of the line and ten frigates. His arrival was ſo little expected, that ſeveral veſſels laden with proviſions and military ſtores fell into his hands: the Experiment alſo, a veſſel of 50 guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was taken after a ſtout reſiſtance.

On the continent, the Britiſh troops were divided. General Prevoſt, with one part, remained at Savannah; but the main force was under Colonel Maitland at Port Royal. On the firſt appearance of the French fleet, an expreſs was diſpatched to Colonel Maitland: but it was intercepted by the enemy; ſo that, before he could ſet out to join the commander in chief, the Americans had ſecured moſt of the paſſes by land, while the French fleet effectually blocked up the paſſage by ſea. Yet by taking advantage of creeks and inlets, and marching over land, he arrived juſt in time to relieve Savannah.

D'Eſtaing allowed General Prevoſt twenty-four hours to deliberate whether he would capitulate or not. This time the general employed in making the beſt preparations he could for a defence; and at this critical juncture Colonel Maitland arrived. D'Eſtaing's ſummons was now rejected; and, as the ſuperiority of the enemy was by no means ſo much out of proportion, there was every probability of ſucceſs on the part of the Britiſh. The garriſon conſiſted of three thouſand men, of approved valour and experience; and, having the advantage of a ſtrong fortification and excellent engineers, the fire of the allies made ſo little impreſſion, that d'Eſtaing reſolved to bombard the town, and a battery of nine mortars was erected for the purpoſe. This produced a requeſt from General Prevoſt, that the women and children might be allowed to retire to a place of ſafety. But the allied commanders had the inhumanity to refuſe compliance; and reſolved upon a general aſſault. This was accordingly attempted on the 9th of October: but the aſſailants were every where repulſed with ſuch ſlaughter, that one thouſand two hundred were killed and wounded; among the former was Count Polaſki, and among the latter d'Eſtaing himſelf. This diſaſter entirely overthrew the ſanguine hopes of the Americans and French; mutual reproaches and animoſities took place; and, after waiting eight days, both parties prepared to retreat; the French to their ſhipping, and the Americans into Carolina.

While the allies where thus unſucceſsfully employed in the ſouthern colonies, their antagoniſts were no leſs aſſiduous in diſtreſſing them in the northern parts. Sir George Collier was ſent with a fleet, carrying General Matthews, with a body of land-forces, into the province of Virginia. Their firſt attempt was on the town of Portſmouth; where, though the enemy had deſtroyed ſome ſhips of great value, the Britiſh troops arrived in time to ſave a great number of others. On this occaſion about one hundred and twenty veſſels of different ſizes were burnt, and twenty carried off; and an immenſe quantity of proviſions deſigned for the uſe of General Waſhington's army was either taken or deſtroyed, together with a great variety of naval and military ſtores.

The ſucceſs with which this expedition was attended, ſoon gave encouragement to another. The Americans had been for ſome time employed in erecting two ſtrong forts on the river; the one at Verplank's Neck on the eaſt, and the other at Stoney Point on the weſt, ſide. Theſe, when completed, would have been of the utmoſt ſervice to the Americans, by commanding the principal paſs, called the King's Ferry, between the northern and ſouthern colonies. At preſent, however, they were not in a condition to make any effectual defence; and it was determined to attack them before the works ſhould be completed. The force employed on this occaſion was divided into two battalions; one of which directed its courſe againſt Verplanks, and the other againſt Stoney Point. The former was commanded by General Vaughan, the latter by General Pattiſon, while the ſhipping was under the direction of Sir George Collier. General Vaughan met with no reſiſtance, the enemy abandoning their works, and ſetting fire to every thing they could not carry off. At Stoney Point, however, a vigorous defence was made, though the garriſon was at laſt obliged to capitulate. To ſecure the poſſeſſion of this laſt, which was the more important of the two, General Clinton removed from his former ſituation, and encamped in ſuch a manner that Waſhington could not give any aſſiſtance. The Americans, in turn, revenged themſelves by diſtreſſing, with their numerous privateers, the trade to New York.

This occaſioned an expedition to Connecticut, where theſe privateers were chiefly built and harboured. The command was given to Governor Tryon and General Garth. Under convoy of a conſiderable number of armed veſſels they landed at Newhaven, where they demoliſhed the batteries that had been erected to oppoſe them, and deſtroyed the ſhipping and naval ſtores; but they ſpared the town itſelf, as the inhabitants had abſtained from firing out of their houſes upon the troops.

From Newhaven they marched to Fairfield, where they proceeded as before, and reduced the town to aſhes. Norwalk was next attacked, which in like manner was burnt; as was alſo Greenfield, a ſmall ſea-port in the neighbourhood. Theſe ſucceſſes proved very alarming as well as detrimental to the Americans; ſo that Waſhington determined, at all events, to drive the Britiſh from Stoney Point. For this purpoſe he ſent General Wayne with a detachment of choſen men, directing them to attempt the recovery of it by ſurpriſe. On this occaſion the Americans ſhewed a ſpirit and reſolution exceeding any thing they had performed during the courſe of the war. Though the fortifications of this place were very ſtrong, they attacked the Britiſh with bayonets, after paſſing through a heavy fire of muſquetry and grape-ſhot; and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, obliged the ſurviving part of the garriſon, amounting to five hundred men, to ſurrender priſoners of war. Though the Americans did not retain Stoney Point, the ſucceſs they had met with emboldened them to make a ſimilar attempt on Paulus Hook, a fortified poſt on the Jerſey ſide, oppoſite to New York; but they were obliged to retreat, after they had made themſelves maſters of one or two poſts.

An expedition of greater importance was now projected on the part of the Americans. This was againſt a poſt on the river Penobſcot, on the borders of Nova Scotia, of which the Britiſh had lately taken poſſeſſion, and where they had begun to erect a fort, which threatened great inconvenience to the coloniſts. The armament deſtined againſt it was ſo ſoon got in readineſs, that Colonel Maclane, the commanding officer at Penobſcot, found himſelf obliged to drop the execution of part of his ſcheme; and, inſtead of a regular fort, to content himſelf with putting the works already conſtructed in as good a poſture of defence as poſſible. The Americans could not effect a landing without much difficulty; and, as ſoon as this was done, they erected ſeveral batteries, and kept up a briſk fire for the ſpace of a fortnight. They now propoſed to carry the fort by a general aſſault; but, before this could be effected, they perceived Sir George Collier, with a Britiſh fleet, coming to its relief. On this, they inſtantly re-embarked their artillery and military ſtores, and ſailed up the river, as far as poſſible, in order to avoid him. They were ſo cloſely purſued, however, that not a ſingle veſſel could eſcape; ſo that the whole fleet, conſiſting of nineteen armed veſſels and twenty-four tranſports, was deſtroyed. The ſoldiers and ſailors were obliged to wander through immenſe deſerts, where they ſuffered much for want of proviſions; and, to add to their calamities, a quarrel aroſe between the ſoldiers and ſeamen concerning the cauſe of their diſaſter, which ended in a violent fray, wherein a great number were killed.

The projects of Count d'Eſtaing being totally diſconcerted in America, where the people thought that little thanks were due to him for his ineffective promiſes, he ſet ſail for the Weſt Indies on the 3d of November, 1778, in order to ſecond the operations of the Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, who had already captured the iſland of Dominique. On the very ſame day that the French fleet left Boſton, a detachment of five thouſand troops, under convoy of a ſmall ſquadron commanded by Commodore Hotham, ſailed from Sandy Hook, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 10th of December. Without ſuffering the troops to diſembark, an expedition was immediately reſolved upon againſt the iſland of St. Lucia, where a landing was effected on the 13th. By the ſpirited exertions of General Meadows and Admiral Barrington, upon whom the command had now devolved, ſeveral of the batteries and advanced poſts were carried, when Count d'Eſtaing appeared in view with a far ſuperior force, having on-board a large body of troops, with which he hoped to effect the entire reduction of the Engliſh iſlands. The ſquadron of Admiral Barrington conſiſted only of three ſhips of the line, two of fifty guns, and three frigates, which he ſtationed acroſs the entrance of the Careenage, ſupported by ſeveral batteries erected on ſhore. On the morning of the 15th, the French admiral bore down with ten ſail of the line, but met with ſo gallant a reception that he thought proper in a ſhort time to draw off. In the afternoon, he renewed the attack with his whole ſquadron; and a furious cannonade, directed chiefly againſt Admiral Barrington's diviſion, was kept up for ſeveral hours, without making any impreſſion on the Engliſh line; and the French admiral was again obliged to deſiſt. Three days after, having plied a little to windward, he landed a body of five thouſand men, and putting himſelf at their head, marched with great reſolution to the aſſault of the Britiſh lines: but they were received by General Meadows with the ſame invincible courage as they had before experienced from Admiral Barrington. "Their two firſt attacks," ſays General Grant, "were made with the impetuoſity of Frenchmen; and they were repulſed with the determined bravery of Britons." They rallied again, and returned to the charge the third time; but the affair was now ſoon decided: they were totally broken, and obliged to fly in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. Four hundred were left dead on the field; and even, according to their own accounts, out of eleven hundred wounded five hundred were rendered incapable of ſervice. The magnitude of their loſs, exceeding in number the whole of the Britiſh troops that were engaged, evinces the deſperation and perſeverance with which the French made and ſupported their attacks; and places above all praiſe the maſterly diſpoſition formed by General Meadows for the defence of his poſt, and the unſhaken intrepidity of the men to whom that defence was intruſted. What excites equal aſtoniſhment is, that only thirteen of the

Britiſh troops were killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and eight miſſing. After this ſevere defeat, d'Eſtaing continued on the iſland in a ſtate of ſeeming irreſolution for ten days longer. At length, re-embarking his troops in the night of the 28th, he ſet ſail for Martinico next morning, and abandoned St. Lucia to its fate. Whilſt his fleet was yet in view, the French governor, M. de Micoud, offered to capitulate; and although he was now deſtitute of all hopes of relief, the moſt honourable terms were granted to him, the liberality of the Britiſh commanders thus adding to the luſtre of ſo ſplendid a conqueſt, and which was alſo conſidered as more that equivalent to the loſs of Dominique.

Eight days after the departure of d'Eſtaing, Admiral Byron arrived with his fleet, unfortunately too late to cut off the retreat of the enemy. All this brave admiral's proceedings had hitherto been marred by the oppoſition of the elements. In the voyage from England, whence he had been diſpatched after the Toulon fleet, his ſhips were ſeparated in a ſtorm, and did not reach New York but at long intervals, and many of them in ſo ſhattered a ſtate that they were not in readineſs to proceed to ſea till the 18th of October. He then went in queſt of d'Eſtaing; but his ill fortune ſtill continued to perſecute him. Scarcely had he reached the bay of Boſton, when on the 1ſt of November, another tremendous ſtorm aroſe, which ſo diſabled his fleet, that he was obliged to put back to Rhode iſland to refit. This afforded d'Eſtaing a favorable opportunity of proceeding to the Weſt Indies, and of making the attempt, though unſucceſsful, which has been juſt related; while Byron was weather-bound at Rhode-iſland for a fortnight after his ſhips were ready to ſail, and even in his paſſage thence had one of them diſmaſted. To theſe untoward circumſtances the eſcape of the French fleet was entirely owing: and ſo ſenſible was d'Eſtaing of the danger of encoun-

tering

tering even an equality of Britiſh naval force, that for ſix months together he only ventured twice out of the bay of Fort Royal, and both times haſtily returned as ſoon as Byron's fleet was ſeen ſtanding towards him. Squadrons were frequently ſent to cruiſe off the mouth of the harbour where the count lay, and, if poſſible, to provoke him to come out and riſk an engagement; but no mortification of this ſort could induce him to deviate from his defenſive plan.

Whilſt the French, from having been the aſſailants, were thus reduced, as it were, to a ſtate of ſiege in the Weſt Indies, they had nearly loſt all their poſſeſſions in the Eaſt.—When a rupture was ſeen to be inevitable, ſo expeditiouſly had the Engliſh Eaſt-India company tranſmitted their orders, and with ſo much promptitude were theſe orders executed, that the war broke out in the moſt diſtant extremities of the empire almoſt as ſoon as in the parts neareſt to its centre. Chandernagore and all the factories belonging to the French in Bengal, at Yanaon and Karical, with their ſettlement at Maſſulipatam, were wreſted from them during the ſummer; and, in the month of October, the town and fortreſs of Pondicherry, the capital of the French poſſeſſions, and the ſeat of their government in India, with an immenſe train of artillery, and a garriſon of three thouſand men, nine hundred of whom were Europeans, after being inveſted for two months and ten days by an army under General Munro by land, and by a ſmall naval force under Sir Edward Vernon, who had previouſly defeated a French ſquadren under M. de Fronjolly, was ſurrendered by capitulation. Commodore Vernon's force conſiſted of only the Rippon of ſixty guns, the Coventry of twenty-eight, the Seahorſe of twenty, the Cormorant ſloop, and an Indiaman: that of the enemy conſiſted of a 64-gun ſhip, two frigates, one of thirty-ſix the other of thirty-two guns, and two India ſhips armed for war: one of the French frigates was taken; the reſt left Pondicherry to its fate.

At the cloſe of this firſt campaign, France found little reaſon to congratulate herſelf on her new alliance. Her trade in both Indies had been greatly annoyed, many of her richeſt ſhips captured, and her lucrative trade on the Coromandel coaſt annihilated at once.

The parliament met on the 26th of November, 1778, and the houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply, on the 2d of December, a member moved for an enquiry into the cauſe of our failure of ſucceſs in the engagement on the 27th of July. Admiral Keppel thereupon roſe to juſtify his conduct in that action; he was replied to by Sir Hugh Palliſer. It appeared, that on the return of the fleet, reflections had been thrown out againſt the commander of the rear diviſion, imputing the cauſe of the engagement not being renewed in the afternoon to that officer's neglecting to bear down, agreeable to a ſignal diſplayed by the commander in chief, and a meſſage ſent. Something of this kind having appeared in the newſpapers, Sir Hugh Palliſer applied to Admiral Keppel for a formal contradiction of ſuch a charge; which was declined. A few days after the altercation in the houſe of commons had happened, Sir Hugh Palliſer exhibited at the Admiralty-board, an accuſation againſt the conduct of Admiral Keppel, on the 27th and 28th of July, conſiſting of five articles, or ſeparate ſpecific charges; a copy of which was ſent by the board to the admiral, accompanied with a notice to prepare for his ſpeedy trial by a court martial, on the ſeveral charges adduced.

A court-martial was accordingly appointed to be held on board the Britannia, in Portſmouth harbour, on January 8th, 1779, and was from thence adjourned to the governor's houſe at Portſmouth. It conſiſted of Admiral Sir Thomas Pye, preſident; Admirals Buckle, Montague, Arbuthnot, and Rodham; Captains Millbank, Drake, Penny, Moutray, Duncan, Boteler, Cranſton, and Bennet.

On the 11th of February, which was the 32d day of trial, the court having heard the evidence and the priſoner's defence, were of opinion, that the charge was malicious and ill-founded; it having appeared, that the admiral, ſo far from having by miſconduct and neglect of duty on the days therein alluded to, loſt an opportunity of rendering eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, and thereby tarniſhing the honour of the Britiſh navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced, officer. The court therefore unanimouſly and honourably acquitted the ſaid Admiral Auguſtus Keppel of the ſeveral articles contained in the charge againſt him.

Sir Thomas Pye, on delivering to Admiral Keppel his ſword, addreſſed him in the following words:

"Admiral Keppel, It is no ſmall pleaſure for me to receive the commands of the court I have the honour to preſide at, that in delivering you your ſword, I am to congratulate you on its being reſtored to you with ſo much honour; hoping ere long, you will be called forth by your ſovereign, to draw it once more in defence of your country."

Immediately upon the acquittal of Admiral Keppel, both houſes of parliament unanimouſly voted him their thanks for his gallant behaviour on the 27th of July. This example was followed by the city of London, and the Weſt-India merchants.

Soon after, Sir Hugh Palliſer reſigned his ſeat at the board of admiralty, gave up his poſts of lieutenant-general of the marines, and governor of Scarborough-caſtle, and, vacating his ſeat in parliament, kept nothing but his rank of vice-admiral of the blue. As, in the courſe of Admiral Keppel's trial, many circumſtances were related in evidence which tended to criminate the accuſer; the lords of the admiralty thought proper to iſſue orders for a court-martial to be held on Sir Hugh Palliſer, which was accordingly held on board the Sandwich, in Portſmouth-harbour, on Monday the 12th of April, Vice-admiral George Darby, preſident; Rear-admiral Robert Digby, Captains Ogle, Kempenfelt, Peyton, Baine, Robinſon, Duncan, Goodall, Cranſton, Linzee, Colpoys, and Walters, members.

In the courſe of the trial, which continued until the 5th of May, upwards of forty witneſſes were examined. All their evidence tended to prove the gallant behaviour of Sir Hugh Palliſer, during the action in the morning; but the officers from the centre, and van diviſions, bore teſtimony that the vice-admiral of the blue did not bring his diviſion into a line of battle in the afternoon; notwithſtanding his ſhip, the Formidable, did not appear to have received ſuch damage as rendered her incapable of renewing the engagement, and a ſignal was flying from the Victory all the afternoon for that purpoſe, and a meſſage was ſent by Captain Windſor, in the Fox frigate, from the commander in chief, to acquaint Sir Hugh, that the admiral waited only for his diviſion to renew the engagement, which meſſage was delivered, according to the teſtimony of many witneſſes, at half an hour after five o'clock.

The witneſſes whoſe evidence tended to juſtify Sir Hugh Palliſer, were, his captain in the Formidable, the four lieutenants, the carpenter, gunner, and gunner's mate; with ſome of the lieutenants, maſters, and other officers, belonging to the ſhips in his diviſion. They ſpoke of the incapacity of the Formidable to renew the engagement, and fixed the time of delivering the meſſage from Admiral Keppel to be about ſeven o'clock in the evening; more than one denied that any thing was ſaid about renewing the engagement. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that of the ten captains who commanded the ſhips in the rear diviſion, only two were examined on this trial, and the evidence of only one of them tended to exculpate the priſoner. As we have been circumſtantial in relating the tranſactions of that day when we ſpoke of the action, it is unneceſſary to enlarge here; we ſhall therefore only obſerve, that Sir Hugh Palliſer, as ſoon as he was out of the engagement, weared his ſhip, ſuppoſing the admiral meant immediately to return to the fight, and brought his whole diviſion round; which does not prove that incapacity to his ſhip which he afterwards alleged. When he had thus changed his poſition, he formed the van of the Britiſh fleet. Two hours after, Admiral Keppel altered the ſituation of the fleet, by bringing Sir Robert Harland's diviſion into the van, as in the morning, and threw out ſignals for Sir Hugh Palliſer's ſhips to form the rear. No ſooner was this diſpoſition made, than the backwardneſs of the vice-admiral of the blue became obſervable.

On Wedneſday the 5th of May, all the witneſſes having been examined, and the vice-admiral having made his defence, the court proceeded to deliver their opinion, which was, "That the behaviour of the vice-admiral of the blue on the 27th and 28th days of July, was, in many inſtances, highly meritorious and exemplary; but that he was blameable for not making the diſtreſſed ſituation of his ſhip known to the admiral, either by the Fox, or otherwiſe. Yet, as he is cenſurable in no other part of his conduct, the court are of opinion, he ought, notwithſtanding that, to be acquitted, and he is acquitted accordingly."

The preſident then delivered to the vice-admiral his ſword, with this ſhort addreſs: "Sir, I am directed by the court to return you your ſword."

Sir Hugh Palliſer attended the next levee at St. James's; on which occaſion he was preſented to his majeſty and graciouſly received. About the ſame time Sir Robert Harland ſtruck his flag at Portſmouth, and reſigned his command.

Whilſt theſe diſſentions among our naval commanders ſpread diſagreement and miſunderſtanding through the navy, and divided the ſentiments of the nation, according as party prejudices biaſſed the judgment, the cauſe of our enemies gained ſtrength by the acceſſion of Spain to the American confederacy.

In June 1779, the Marquis d'Almodovar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, preſented a manifeſto to Lord Weymouth, in which his catholic majeſty complained, that, having propoſed terms of accommodation to the belligerent powers, in conſequence of the Britiſh court having aſked and accepted of his mediation, in the difference ſubſiſting with France, the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty had rejected them in a manner that indicated little deſire of reſtoring peace to Europe, or to preſerve the friendſhip of his catholic majeſty. It then expatiates on the many inſults which the Spaniſh ſhips and ſettlements had received from the Britiſh ſubjects, which in number amounted to a hundred; which finding the Britiſh court not diſpoſed to redreſs, he is under the diſagreeable neceſſity of making uſe of all the means that the Almighty has given him, to do himſelf that juſtice which he has in vain ſolicited. Immediately on delivering this manifeſto, the marquis quitted the kingdom, and Lord Grantham, our miniſter at the court of Madrid, was recalled.

The miniſtry, when laying the Spaniſh manifeſto before the parliament, paſſed over in ſilence the rejected mediation of Spain, and confined their anſwer to the inſults and encroachments which it complained of. His majeſty, they ſaid, had, on every occaſion, been ſolemnly intent on the preſervation of peace, and the reciprocal good intentions and harmony of both courts; that as ſoon as ever his catholic majeſty, by his ambaſſador, had complained of any grievance, his majeſty had taken the moſt effectual means of inſtantly affording the court of Madrid every poſſible ſatisfaction; and that the chief part of the grievances ſtated in the manifeſto had never come to his knowledge by any means whatever. Both houſes of parliament addreſſed his majeſty in the warmeſt terms of loyalty and affection, and every meaſure was immediately taken to repel the approaching ſtorm.

Thus was Great Britain, unſupported by any one ally, left to contend with the powers of France, Spain, and America. That ſhe was not appalled by the formidable league againſt her, was a ſtrong proof of her ſpirit. That her pecuniary reſources were found any ways adequate to the exigences of the times, was really wonderful; and that ſoldiers, ſeamen, and a navy, could be found able to make head againſt ſuch a confederacy, places the real ſtrength and abilities of this country in a ſtronger light than they had ever before appeared.

Sir Charles Hardy, admiral of the white, was now appointed to the command of the grand fleet, which was to oppoſe the combined force of France and Spain; and his royal highneſs Prince William Henry, (now Duke of Clarence,) was initiated in the ſervice, under Rear-admiral Digby, as a midſhipman, on-board the Royal George.

The firſt effect of the enmity of the Spaniards was the invaſion of Gibraltar, which ſpeedily followed the hoſtile reſcript from the court of Spain. The blockade on the land-ſide commenced in the month of July, 1779; and the place was ſoon after inveſted as cloſely by ſea as the nature of the gut and the variety of wind and weather would permit. It happened fortunately for Great Britain, that all the capital efforts of the Spaniſh nation ſhould be directed, at this juncture, to ſo impracticable and ruinous an enterpriſe.

As to France, ſhe had opened the year with a ſucceſsful expedition to the coaſt of Africa. The ſettlement to Senegal and the Britiſh forts on the river Gambia were captured in February by a ſquadron under the Duke de Lauzun. It having then been thought neceſſary, for the ſake of ſtrengthening Senegal, to remove thither the troops and artillery from Goree, this iſland was ſoon afterwards ſeized and garriſoned by Sir Edward Hughes, who had force ſufficient on-board his fleet to recover the other poſſeſſions; but his deſtination was for the Eaſt-Indies, where he had much greater objects in view.

On the firſt of May, another expedition was undertaken by the French againſt the iſle of Jerſey, with five or ſix thouſand men in flat-bottomed boats, under convoy of three frigates and ſome ſmaller veſſels. They were ſo warmly and vigorouſly received by the ſeventy-eighth regiment and the militia of the iſland, that, after a faint and ſpiritleſs effort, they relinquiſhed the enterpriſe. In a few days after, the frigates being ſeen parading on the oppoſite coaſt of Normandy, were purſued into Concalle-bay by a ſmall ſquadron under the command of Sir James Wallace, in the Experiment of 50 guns, who taking upon himſelf the charge and riſk of his own ſhip, when the pilots refuſed to conduct her any farther, laid her a-breaſt of a battery that covered the runaways, and ſoon ſilenced it. Armed boats were immediately ſent to board the French ſhips, which had been abandoned by their crews. A cutter of 16 guns was ſcuttled as ſhe lay on the ſhore; two of the frigates were burnt; and the third, La Danaé of 34 guns, with the ſmaller veſſels, was towed off in triumph.

However completely the inſolence of thoſe invaders was puniſhed, the attempt on Jerſey proved, in its accidental conſequences, extremely mortifying and injurious to Great Britain. It happened that Admiral Arbuthnot, with a ſquadron of men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen and tranſports, was then on the outſet of his voyage to New York. As he was proceeding down the channel on the ſecond of May, he fell in with a veſſel ſent expreſs from Jerſey, with the firſt account of the ſuppoſed danger of that iſland. He ſailed directly with part of the ſquadron for its relief, ordering the reſt, and the ſhips under their protection, to wait his return at Torbay. Upon his arrival off Guernſey, finding that the French had been repulſed, and that his aſſiſtance was no longer neceſſary, he tacked about to rejoin his convoy. Though he loſt as little time as poſſible in this unfortunate deviation from his original courſe, it was the cauſe of much ſubſequent delay. His fleet, which had anchored at Torbay, was prevented from ſailing for near a month after by contrary winds; and it being very reaſonably apprehended, that, in the interval of its detention, the French receiving intelligence of its immenſe value, and of the force that protected it, might be tempted to make a vigorous effort for its capture, in order to defeat ſuch an attempt, ten ſhips from the channel fleet were detached, under Admiral Darby, to accompany Arbuthnot to a certain latitude, whence he might proceed in perfect ſecurity. The channel fleet, weakened by ſo conſiderable a detachment, was obliged to ſuſpend a plan already formed for blocking up the harbour of Breſt; and the French, availing themſelves of the opportunity, hurried to ſea with an imperfect equipment, and joined the fleet of Spain on the 24th of June. This junction, which the late untoward accidents had rendered it impoſſible for the Britiſh naval force to prevent, was truly alarming. The two fleets amounted to more than ſixty ſail of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates and ſmaller veſſels. Soon after their junction, they ſteered for the Britiſh channel, in the mouth of which Sir Charles Hardy, who had ſucceeded Keppel, was cruiſing with a fleet of thirty-eight ſhips of the line, and ſomething leſs than its due proportion of frigates. The combined fleets paſſed him, about the middle of Auguſt, without either party having diſcovered the other, and proceeded on as far as Plymouth, in ſight of which place they continued parading for two or three days, until a ſtrong eaſterly wind ſet in, and compelled them to retire. The ſame wind had alſo driven the Britiſh fleet to ſea; but, on the laſt day of Auguſt, Sir Charles Hardy regained his former ſtation, and entered the channel in full view of the enemy, who did not attempt to moleſt him. He now endeavoured to entice them into the narrower part of the channel, where their great ſuperiority in number would have been of leſs avail: they followed him as high as Plymouth, but would venture no farther. Their crews were ſaid to be ſickly; their ſhips to be in bad condition; and the ſeaſon for equinoctial gales was faſt approaching. Count d'Orvilliers thought it therefore prudent to quit the channel early in September, and ſteer back to Breſt, without effecting any thing farther than the capture of the Ardent man of war, which had accidentally fallen in with the combined fleets. Though the naval pride of England was certainly very much mortified at ſuch inſults on her own coaſt, and at the retreat of her fleet before the enemy; yet the real diſgrace was on the ſide of France and Spain, who having at a vaſt expence fitted out and brought together greater armaments than had ever, perhaps, been aſſembled on the ſeas, ſaw their efforts expire in empty parade, and their big hopes of ſweeping the ocean terminate in the capture of a ſingle ſhip.

The events in the Weſt Indies, and on the banks of the Miſſiſſipi, proved more flattering to the views of the houſe of Bourbon, though not uncorrected by ſome ſevere ſtrokes of diſappointment and loſs. The paſſiveneſs with which d'Eſtaing ſuffered himſelf to be continually defied, or rather blocked up in Fort Royal harbour, by a fleet ſuperior only in courage to his own, has been already noticed. Both fleets were reinforced in the beginning of the year; that of Admiral Byron by ſeveral ſhips of war from England, under Commodore Rowley; and that of d'Eſtaing by a ſquadron from France, under the command of M. de Graſſe. But, as theſe acceſſions of ſtrength were nearly balanced on both ſides, the count ſtill declined the challenge and endured the inſults of his ſpirited enemy. The departure of Admiral Byron on the 6th of June, to convoy the valuable trade of the Weſt-India iſlands a part of their way to England, afforded d'Eſtaing an opportunity of commencing operations. He ſent a detachment of four hundred and fifty men to the iſland of St. Vincent, which, though garriſoned by ſeven companies of regular troops, ſurrendered without a ſhot. This is aſcribed to the dread entertained of an inſurrection of the Caribbs, who had never been perfectly reconciled to the Engliſh government, and who were ready to join the French as ſoon as they landed. D'Eſtaing being farther encouraged by another large reinforcement under M. de la Motte Piquet, ſailed from Port Royal with twenty-ſix ſhips of the line, eight large frigates, and a number of tranſports having nine thouſand troops on-board, and ſteered for Grenada, where he arrived the 2d of July. Lord Macartney, the governor, though his whole garriſon did not exceed one hundred and fifty regulars, with about the ſame number of militia, yet being ſtrongly poſted on an intrenched hill, he repulſed the firſt aſſault of between two and three thouſand of the French, with the moſt heroic valour. But the ſuperiority of numbers was at length deciſive; and the Britiſh lines were forced, after a hard conflict, which laſted about an hour and a half, and in which three hundred of the aſſailants are ſaid to have been killed or wounded. Next day, Macartney and his brave companions, rather than give a formal aſſent to terms preſcribed by the inſolence of victory, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Admiral Byron, on his return to St. Lucia, receiving intelligence of the capture of St. Vincent's, waited only to have ſome troops embarked, and directed his courſe thither; but, on his paſſage, he heard the ſtill more unwelcome tidings of the attack on Grenada, the relief of which was therefore to be immediately attempted. Though his force conſiſted of only twenty-one ſhips of the line, and one frigate, beſides tranſports, he was animated by the warmeſt hopes of ſucceſs, being totally ignorant of la Motte's junction with d'Eſtaing. At day-break on the 6th of July, he came in view of the enemy; but the French commander, having already effected his purpoſe, was little inclined, notwithſtanding his preſent ſuperiority, to riſk a cloſe engagement. A warm, but partial and undeciſive, action enſued, in which three or four of the Engliſh ſhips ſuſtained conſiderable damage in their maſts, ſails, and rigging, though their loſs in killed and wounded bore a very ſmall proportion to the dreadful ſlaughter on-board the French fleet. In the reſult, Admiral Byron, who, to his great mortification, had ſeen the white flag flying on the fortreſs of St. George, but who muſt alſo have felt his inequality to any farther attempts for the recovery of the iſland, withdrew next day to St. Chriſtopher's, d'Eſtaing having in the night returned to Grenada.

As Spain had acted with ſo much treachery in Europe, keeping up the ſhow of friendſhip till all her preparations for war were fully completed, it was not a matter of ſurpriſe to ſee her commence hoſtilities in remote parts of the globe, with all the advantages of early information and previous deſign. About the middle of Auguſt, Don Galvez, the Spaniſh governor of Louiſiana, having collected the whole force of his province of New Orleans, ſet out upon an expedition againſt the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſſipi; and as they had no cover but a newly-conſtructed fort, or more properly a field redoubt, defended by five hundred men, they could not long reſiſt the efforts of a well-provided army of four times that number. Don Galvez now extended his views to the conqueſt of all Weſt Florida; but thinking his own force inadequate to ſuch an enterprize, he concerted a plan of operation with the governor of the Havannah, in purſuance of which he was to be aſſiſted by a conſiderable embarkation from that place early in the enſuing year.

Nearly at the ſame time that Don Galvez was advancing to the weſtern extremities of Florida, the Spaniſh governor of Honduras made an unexpected attack upon the Britiſh logwood cutters; took many of them priſoners; and expelled the reſt from their principal ſettlement at St. George's Key. Captain Dalrymple, with a detachment of the royal Iriſh from Jamaica, and ſome Indians and volunteers collected on the Moſquito ſhore, being on their paſſage to Honduras for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the bay-men, fell in with a ſmall ſquadron of frigates under the command of Commodore Luttrel, who had been cruiſing to intercept two Spaniſh regiſter-ſhips. The commodore informed Captain Dalrymple, that the Spaniards were already diſpoſſeſſed of St. George's Key; and that the regiſter ſhips, having taken ſhelter in the harbour of Omoa, were ſo ſtrongly protected by the fortifications on ſhore, as to bid defiance to any effort by ſea. Under ſuch circumſtances, the two commanders agreed to unite their forces, and to make an attack on Omoa both by ſea and land. Never was any enterpriſe conducted with greater ſpirit and judgment, or crowned with more brilliant ſucceſs. Thoſe walls, which had coſt the Spaniards twenty years labour, and upon which neither the fire of the frigates, nor ſome batteries erected on the adjoining heights could make any impreſſion, were ſcaled by the intrepid aſſailants; and the keys of the fort were ſurrendered to Captain Dalrymple, without any farther reſiſtance. The priſoners amounted to three hundred and fifty-five rank and file, beſides officers and inhabitants; and it was agreed that they ſhould be exchanged for an equal number of Britiſh ſubjects taken in the bay of Honduras. The value of the regiſter ſhips and other prizes of leſs note in the harbour was eſtimated at three millions of dollars.

No part of this loſs was more ſeverely felt by the Spaniards than that of two hundred and fifty quintals of quickſilver, a commodity ſo eſſential to the purification of their gold and ſilver ores, that they would have given almoſt any price for it; but the captors, preferring the public good to their own private emolument, would not part upon any terms with an article, which, though of no great value to themſelves, was of ſuch immenſe conſequence to the enemy. Upon the ſame principle, they refuſed to ranſom the fort, (for which high offers were likewiſe made,) and left a garriſon for its defence; although their views to the ſervice of their country were fruſtrated in this reſpect by its ſubſequent evacuation, ariſing more from the unhealthineſs of the place, than from any power or vigour exerted by the enemy in its recovery.

The conduct of all the officers and men in every part of this ſervice was highly laudable and exemplary; but the following inſtance of magnanimity, in the moment of the aſſault, deſerves a peculiar and diſtinctive tribute of applauſe. A common ſailor, who ſcrambled ſingly over the wall, had, for the better annoyance, on all ſides, of the enemy, armed himſelf with a cutlaſs in each hand. Thus equipped, he fell in with a Spaniſh officer, juſt rouſed from ſleep, and who, in the hurry and confuſion, had forgotten his ſword. This circumſtance reſtrained the fury of the gallant tar, who diſdaining an unarmed foe, but unwilling to relinquiſh ſo happy an opportunity of diſplaying his courage in ſingle combat, preſented one of the cutlaſſes to him, ſaying, "I ſcorn any advantage—you are now upon a footing with me."—The aſtoniſhment of the officer at ſuch an act of generoſity, and at the facility with which a friendly parley took place, when he expected nothing leſs, from the uncouth and hoſtile appearance of his foe, than that of being inſtantly cut to pieces, could only be equalled by the admiration, which his relating the ſtory excited in his countrymen.

We muſt now take a view of the tranſactions in the ſouthern colonies; to which the war, in the year 1780, was ſo effectually transferred, that the operations there became at laſt deciſive. The ſucceſs of General Prevoſt, in advancing to the very capital of South Carolina, has been already ſtated, (p. 147.) together with the obſtacles which prevented him from becoming maſter of it at that time. Towards the end of 1779, Sir Henry Clinton ſet ſail from New York with a conſiderable body of troops, intended for the attack of Charleſtown, in a fleet of ſhips of war and tranſports, under the command of Vice-admiral Arbuthnot. They had a very tedious voyage; the weather was uncommonly bad; ſeveral of the tranſports were loſt, and an ordnance-ſhip foundered at ſea. Having arrived at Savannah, where they endeavoured to repair the damages, they proceeded, on the 10th of February, 1780, to North Ediſto, the place of debarkation which had been previouſly appointed. They had a favourable paſſage thither; and, though it required time to have the bar explored and the channel marked, the tranſports all entered the harbour the next day; and the army took poſſeſſion of John's Iſland without oppoſition. Preparations were then made for paſſing the ſquadron over Charleſtown-bar, where the high-water ſpring-tides were only nineteen feet deep; but no opportunity offered of going into the harbour till the 20th of March, when it was effected without any accident, though the American galleys continually attempted to prevent the Engliſh boats from ſounding the channel. The Britiſh troops had previouſly removed from John's to James's Iſland; and, on the 29th of the ſame month, they effected their landing on Charleſtown Neck. On the 1ſt of April they broke ground within 800 yards of the American works; and, by the 8th, the beſiegers guns were mounted for action.

As ſoon as the army began to open their batteries againſt the town, Admiral Arbuthnot embraced the firſt opportunity of paſſing Sullivan's Iſland, upon which there was a ſtrong fort, the chief defence of the harbour. He weighed on the 9th, with the Roebuck, Richmond, and Romulus, Blonde, Virginia, Raleigh, and Sandwich armed ſhip, the Renown bringing up the rear; and, paſſing through a ſevere fire, anchored in about two hours under St. James's Iſland, with the loſs of twenty-ſeven ſeamen killed and wounded. The Richmond's fore-top-maſt was ſhot away, and the ſhips in general ſuſtained damage in their maſts and rigging, though not materially in their hulls. But the Acetus tranſport, having on-board ſome naval ſtores, grounded within gun-ſhot of Sullivan's Iſland, and received ſo much damage, that ſhe was obliged to be abandoned and burnt.

On the 10th, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot ſummoned the town to ſurrender; but Lincoln, who commanded in Charleſtown, returned them an anſwer, declaring it to be his intention to defend the place. The batteries were now opened againſt the town; and from their effect the fire of the American advanced works conſiderably abated. It appears, that the number of troops under the command of Lincoln, were by far too few for defending works of ſuch extent as thoſe of Charleſtown; and that many of theſe were men little accuſtomed to military ſervice, and very ill provided with clothes and other neceſſaries. Lincoln had been for ſome time expecting reinforcements and ſupplies from Virginia, and other places; but they came in very ſlowly. Earl Cornwallis and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton were extremely active in intercepting theſe reinforcements. They totally defeated a conſiderable body of cavalry and militia, which was proceeding to the relief of the town; and made themſelves maſters of ſome poſts, which gave them the command of the country, by which means great ſupplies of proviſions fell into their hands. Such was the ſtate of things, and Fort Sullivan had alſo been taken by the king's troops, when General Clinton again ſummoned the town to ſurrender; an offer being made, that the lives and property of the inhabitants ſhould be preſerved to them. Articles of capitulation were then agreed upon, and the town ſurrendered on the 4th of May, 1780. A large quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition, was found in Charleſtown; and, according to Sir Henry Clinton's account, the number of priſoners amounted to 5618 men, excluſive of near a thouſand ſailors in arms; but, according to General Lincoln's account, tranſmitted to the congreſs, the whole number of continental troops taken priſoners amounted to no more than 2487. The remainder, therefore, included in General Clinton's account, muſt have conſiſted of militia and inhabitants of the town. Several American frigates were alſo taken or deſtroyed in the harbour.

While Sir Henry Clinton was employed in his voyage to Charleſtown, and in the ſiege of that place, the garriſon at New York were not free from apprehenſions for their own ſafety. An intenſe froſt, accompanied with great falls of ſnow, began about the middle of December, 1779, and ſhut up the navigation of the port of New York from the ſea, within a few days after the departure of Admiral Arbuthnot and General Clinton. The ſeverity of the weather increaſed to ſo great a degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with New York by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones opened by the ice. The inhabitants could ſcarcely be ſaid to be in an inſular ſtate. Horſes with heavy carriages could go over the ice into the Jerſeys, from one iſland to another. The paſſage in the North River, even in the wideſt part, from New York to Paulus Hook, which was 2000 yards, was, about the 19th of January, 1780, paſſable for the heavieſt cannon: an event which had been unknown in the memory of man.

Proviſions were ſoon after tranſported upon ſledges, and a detachment of cavalry marched upon the ice from New York to Staten Iſland, which was a diſtance of eleven miles.

The city of New York, being thus circumſtanced, was much expoſed to the continental troops; and it was ſtrongly reported, that General Waſhington was meditating an attack upon it with his whole force. Some time before this, Major-general Pattiſon, commandant at New York, having received an addreſs from many of the inhabitants, offering to put themſelves in military array, he thought the preſent a favourable opportunity of trying the ſincerity of their profeſſions. Accordingly, he iſſued a proclamation, calling upon all the male inhabitants from ſixteen to ſixty to take up arms. The requiſition was ſo readily complied with, that, in a few days, forty companies from the ſix wards of the city were inrolled, officered, and under arms, to the number of 2600. Other volunteer companies were alſo formed; and the city was put into a ſtrong poſture of defence. No attack, however, was made upon New York, whatever deſign might originally have been meditated: but an attempt was made upon Staten Iſland, where there were about 1800 men, under the command of Brigadier-general Sterling. General Waſhington, whoſe army was hutted at Morris-town, ſent a detachment of 2700 men, with ſix pieces of cannon, two mortars, and ſome horſes, commanded by Lord Sterling, who arrived at Staten Iſland early in the morning of the 15th of January. The advanced poſts of the Britiſh troops retired upon the approach of the Americans, who formed the line, and made ſome movements in the courſe of the day; but they withdrew in the night, and carried off with them about 200 head of cattle. Immediately on the arrival of the Americans on Staten Iſland, Lieutenant-general Knyphauſen had embarked 600 men to attempt a paſſage, and to ſupport General Sterling; but the floating ice compelled them to return.

After Charleſtown had ſurrendered, General Clinton iſſued two proclamations, and circulated a hand-bill amongſt the inhabitants of South Carolina, to induce them to return to their allegiance, and to be ready to join the king's troops. Theſe proclamations appear to have produced ſome effect, though they probably operated chiefly upon thoſe who were before not much inclined to the cauſe of American independence. Two hundred and ten of the inhabitants of Charleſtown ſigned an addreſs to General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, ſoliciting to be re-admitted to the character and condition of Britiſh ſubjects; declaring their diſapprobation of the doctrine of American independence, and expreſſing their regret, that, after the repeal of thoſe ſtatutes which gave riſe to the troubles in America, the overtures of his majeſty's commiſſioners had not been regarded by the congreſs.

At this time the people of America were involved in great difficulties by the depreciation of their paper-currency. At the time when the colonies engaged in war with Great Britain, they had no regular civil government eſtabliſhed among them of ſufficient energy to enforce the collection of taxes, or to provide funds for the redemption of ſuch bills of credit as their neceſſities obliged them to iſſue. In conſequence of this, their bills increaſed in quantity far beyond the ſum neceſſary for the purpoſe of a circulating medium: and, as they wanted at the ſame time ſpecific funds to reſt on for their redemption, they ſaw their paper currency daily ſink in value. The depreciation continued, by a kind of gradual progreſſion, from the year 1777 to the year 1780; ſo that, at the latter period, the continental dollars were paſſed, by common conſent, in moſt parts of America, at the rate of at leaſt thirty-nine fortieths below their nominal value. The impoſſibility of keeping up the credit of the currency to any fixed ſtandard, occaſioned great and almoſt inſurmountable embarraſſments in aſcertaining the value of property, or carrying on trade with any ſufficient certainty. Thoſe who ſold, and thoſe who bought, were left without a rule whereon to form a judgment of their profit or their loſs: and every ſpecies of commerce or exchange, whether foreign or domeſtic, was expoſed to numberleſs and increaſing difficulties. The conſequences of the depreciation of the paper-currency, were alſo felt with peculiar ſeverity by ſuch of the Americans as were engaged in their military ſervices, and greatly augmented by their other hardſhips. The requiſitions made by the congreſs to the ſeveral colonies for ſupplies, were alſo far from always being complied with: and their troops were not unfrequently in want of the moſt common neceſſaries; which naturally occaſioned complaints and diſcontent among them. Some of theſe difficulties, reſulting from their circumſtances and ſituation, perhaps no wiſdom could have prevented: but they ſeem to have ariſen in part from the congreſs not being ſufficiently acquainted with the principles of finance, and from a defect of ſyſtem in the departments of their government. The cauſe of the Americans appears alſo to have ſuffered by their depending too much on temporary enliſtments. But the congreſs endeavoured, towards the cloſe of the year 1780, to put their army upon a more permanent footing, and to give all the ſatisfaction to their officers and ſoldiers which their circumſtances would permit. They appointed a committee for arranging their finances, and made ſome new regulations reſpecting their war-office and treaſury-board, and other public departments.

Notwithſtanding the diſadvantages under which they laboured, the Americans ſeemed to entertain no doubts but that they ſhould be able to maintain their independency. The 4th of July was celebrated this year at Philadelphia, as the anniverſary of American independence.

dependence. A commencement for conferring degrees in the arts was held the ſame day, in the hall of the univerſity there; at which the preſident and members of the congreſs attended, and other perſons in public offices. The Chevalier de la Lucerne, miniſter plenipotentiary from the French king to the United States, was alſo preſent on the occaſion. A charge was publicly addreſſed by the provoſt of the univerſity to the ſtudents; in which he ſaid, that he could not but congratulate them "on that auſpicious day, which, amidſt the confuſions and deſolations of war, beheld learning beginning to revive; and animated them with the pleaſing proſpect of ſeeing the ſacred lamp of ſcience burning with a ſtill brighter flame, and ſcattering its invigorating rays over the unexplored deſerts of that extenſive continent; until the whole world ſhould be involved in the united blaze of knowledge, liberty, and religion. When he ſtretched his views forward," he ſaid, "and ſurveyed the riſing glories of America, the enriching conſequences of their determined ſtruggle for liberty, the extenſive fields of intellectual improvement and uſeful invention, in ſcience and arts, in agriculture and commerce, in religion and government, through which the unfettered mind would range, with increaſing delight, in queſt of the undiſcovered treaſure which yet lay concealed in the animal, vegetable, and mineral, kingdoms of that new world; or in the other fertile ſources of knowledge with which it abounded; his heart ſwelled with the pleaſing proſpect, that the ſons of that inſtitution would diſtinguiſh themſelves, in the different walks of life, by their literary contributions to the embelliſhment and increaſe of human happineſs."

On the 10th of July, M. Ternay, with a fleet conſiſting of ſeven ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, and a large body of French troops, commanded by Count Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Iſland; and the following day 6000 men were landed. A committee from the general aſſembly of Rhode Iſland was appointed to congratulate the French general upon his arrival: whereupon he returned an anſwer, in which he informed them, that the king his maſter had ſent him to the aſſiſtance of his good and faithful allies the United States of America. At preſent, he ſaid, he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force deſtined for their aid; and the king had ordered him to aſſure them, that his whole power ſhould be exerted for their ſupport. He added, that the French troops were under the ſtricteſt diſcipline; and, acting under the orders of General Waſhington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

A ſcheme was ſoon after formed, of making a combined attack with Engliſh ſhips and troops, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, againſt the French fleet and troops at Rhode Iſland. Accordingly a conſiderable part of the troops at New York were embarked for that purpoſe. General Waſhington, having received information of this, paſſed the North River by a very rapid movement, and, with an army increaſed to 12,000 men, proceeded with celerity towards King's Bridge, in order to attack New York; but, learning that the Britiſh general had changed his intentions, and diſembarked his troops on the 31ſt of the month, General Waſhington recroſſed the river, and returned to his former ſtation. Sir Henry Clinton and the admiral had agreed to relinquiſh their deſign of attacking the French and Americans at Rhode Iſland as impracticable.

An unſucceſsful attempt was alſo made about this time in the Jerſeys by General Knyphauſen, with 7000 Britiſh troops under his command, to ſurpriſe the advanced poſts of General Waſhington's army. They proceeded rapidly towards Springfield, meeting little oppoſition till they came to the bridge there, which was very gallantly defended by 170 of the continental troops, for fifteen minutes, againſt the Britiſh army; but they were at length obliged to give up ſo unequal a conteſt, with the loſs of thirty-ſeven men. After ſecuring this paſs, the Britiſh troops marched into the place, and ſet fire to moſt of the houſes. They alſo committed ſome other depredations in the Jerſeys; but were obliged to return about the beginning of July, without effecting any thing material.

In South Carolina the royal arms were attended with more ſucceſs. Earl Cornwallis, who commanded the Britiſh troops, obtained a very ſignal victory over General Gates, on the 16th of Auguſt. The action began at break of day, in a ſituation very advantageous for the Britiſh troops, but very unfavourable to the Americans. The latter were much more numerous; but the ground on which both armies ſtood was narrowed by ſwamps on the right and left, ſo that the Americans could not avail themſelves of their ſuperior numbers. There ſeems to have been a want of generalſhip in Gates, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſurpriſed in ſo diſadvantageous a poſition: but this circumſtance was partly the effect of accident; for both armies ſet out with a deſign of attacking each other preciſely at the ſame time, at ten the preceding evening, and met together before day-light at the place where the action happened. The attack was made by the Britiſh troops with great vigour, and in a few minutes the action was general along the whole line. It was at this time a dead calm, with a little hazineſs in the air, which prevented the ſmoke from riſing, and occaſioned ſo thick a darkneſs, that it was difficult to ſee the effect of a very heavy and well-ſupported fire on both ſides. The Britiſh troops either kept up a conſtant fire, or made uſe of bayonets, as opportunities offered: and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance during three quarters of an hour, threw the Americans into total confuſion, and forced them to give way in all quarters. The continental troops appear to have behaved well, but the militia were ſoon broken, and left the regulars to oppoſe the whole force of the Britiſh troops. General Gates did all in his power to rally the militia, but without effect: the continentals retreated in ſome order; but the rout of the militia was ſo great, that the Britiſh cavalry are ſaid to have continued the purſuit of them to the diſtance of twenty-two miles from the place where the action happened. The loſs of the Americans was very conſiderable: about 1000 priſoners were taken, and more ſaid to have been killed and wounded, but the number is not very accurately aſcertained. Seven pieces of braſs cannon, a number of colours, and all the ammunition-waggons of the Americans, were taken. Of the Britiſh troops, the killed and wounded amounted to 213. Among the priſoners was Major-general Baron de Kalb, a Pruſſian officer in the American ſervice, who was mortally wounded, having exhibited great gallantry in the action, and received eleven wounds. The Britiſh troops by which this great victory was atchieved did not much exceed 2000, while the American army is ſaid to have amounted to 6000, of which, however, the greateſt part was militia.

Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this action, was detached the following day, with ſome cavalry and light infantry, amounting to about 350 men, to attack a corps of Americans under General Sumpter. He executed this ſervice with great activity and military addreſs. He procured good information of Sumpter's movements; and by force and concealed marches came up with and ſurpriſed him in the middle of the day on the 18th, near the Catawba fords. He totally deſtroyed or diſperſed his detachment, which conſiſted of 700 men, killing 150 on the ſpot, and taking two pieces of braſs cannon, 300 priſoners, and forty-four waggons.

The news of a victory at once ſo brilliant, and apparently ſo deciſive of the fate of the ſouthern colonies, were not received with correſponding emotions of joy in England. The ſpirits of the people had lately been ſunk in the contemplation of ſome of the ſevereſt blows which the Britiſh commerce had ever ſuſtained. Admiral Geary, who, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy in May, had been appointed to the command of the channel fleet, having in the beginning of July taken twelve merchantmen from Port-au-prince, proceeded ſoon after to the ſouthward, in the hope of falling in with a detached ſquadron of French and Spaniſh ſhips, of which he had received ſome intelligence. While he was cruiſing with this view off Cape Finiſterre, a rich and conſiderable convoy for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, attended by the Ramillies and two frigates, ſailed from Portſmouth in the latter end of July, and were intercepted on the 9th of Auguſt by the combined fleets under Don Louis de Cordova. The Ramillies, with the frigates, and a few merchantmen, eſcaped. All the reſt, amounting to more than fifty ſail, were taken and carried into Cadiz. Beſides the immenſe value of the merchandiſe, a number of the ſhips were loaded with naval and military ſtores for the ſettlements in their reſpective places of deſtination. About the ſame time, an account was received of the capture of fourteen ſhips of the outward-bound Quebec-fleet by ſome American privateers off the banks of Newfoundland; and this concurrence of loſſes, which, in their nearer or more remote conſequences, affected all orders of people, ſpread a general gloom throughout the nation.

Not long after theſe events, Major-general Arnold, who had engaged ſo ardently in the cauſe of America, and who had exhibited ſo much bravery in the ſupport of it, became an apoſtate. Major André, adjutant-general to the Britiſh army, was a principal agent in this tranſaction: or, if the overture of joining the king's troops came firſt from Arnold, this gentleman was the perſon employed to concert the affair with him. More muſt have been originally comprehended in the ſcheme than the mere deſertion of the American cauſe by Arnold: but, whatever deſigns had been formed for promoting the views of the Britiſh government, they were fruſtrated by the apprehending of Major André. He was taken in diſguiſe, after having aſſumed a falſe name, on the 23d of September, by three American ſoldiers; to whom he offered conſiderable rewards if they would have ſuffered him to eſcape, but without effect. Several papers written by Arnold were found upon him; and, when Arnold had learned that Major André was ſeized, he found means to get on-board a barge, and to eſcape to one of the king's ſhips. General Waſhington referred the caſe of Major André to the examination and deciſion of a board of general officers, conſiſting of Major-generals Green, Lord Sterling, Marquis de la Fayette, Baron Stenben, two other major-generals, and eight brigadier-generals. Major André was examined before them, and the particulars of his caſe enquired into; and they reported to the American commander in chief, That Mr. André came on-ſhore from the Vulture ſloop of war in the night, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and ſecret manner; that he changed his dreſs within the American lines; and, under a feigned name, and in a diſguiſed habit, paſſed the American works at Stoney Point and Verplanks Point on the evening of the 22d of September; that he was taken on the morning of the 23d at Tarry-town, being then on his way for New York; and that, when taken, he had in his poſſeſſion ſeveral papers which contained intelligence for the enemy. They therefore determined, that he ought to be conſidered as a ſpy from the enemy; and that, agreeably to the law and uſage of nations, he ought to ſuffer death. Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant-general Robertſon, and the late American general Arnold, all wrote preſſing letters to General

Waſhington on the occaſion, to prevent the deciſion of the board of general officers from being put in force; but their applications were ineffectual. Major André was hanged at Tappan, in the province of New York, on the 2d of October. He met his fate with great firmneſs; but appeared ſomewhat hurt that he was not allowed a more military death, for which he had ſolicited. He was a gentleman of very amiable qualities, had a taſte for literature and the fine arts, and poſſeſſed many accompliſhments. His death, therefore, was regretted even by his enemies; and the ſeverity of the determination concerning him was much exclaimed againſt in Great Britain. It was, however, generally acknowledged by impartial perſons, that there was nothing in the execution of this unfortunate gentleman but what was perfectly conſonant to the rules of war.

Arnold was now made a brigadier-general in the king's ſervice, and publiſhed an addreſs to the inhabitants of America, dated from New York, October 7, in which he endeavoured to juſtify his deſertion of their cauſe. He ſaid, that, when he firſt engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redreſs of grievance was his only aim and object; and therefore he acquieſced unwillingly in the declaration of independence, becauſe he thought it precipitate. But what now induced him to deſert their cauſe was the diſguſt he had conceived at the French alliance, and at the refuſal of the congreſs to comply with the laſt terms offered by Great Britain, which he thought equal to all their expectations and their wants.

After the defeat of General Gates by Earl Cornwallis, that nobleman exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in extending the progreſs of the Britiſh arms, and with conſiderable effect. But one enterpriſe, which was conducted by Major Ferguſon, proved unſucceſsful.

That officer had taken abundant pains to diſcipline ſome of the Tory militia, as they were termed; and with a party of theſe, and ſome Britiſh troops, amounting in the whole to about 1400 men, made incurſions into the country. But on the 7th of October he was attacked by a ſuperior number of Americans, at a place called *King's Mountain*, and totally defeated. One hundred and fifty were killed in the action, and 810 made priſoners, of which 150 were wounded. Fifteen hundred ſtand of arms alſo fell into the hands of the Americans, whoſe loſs was inconſiderable.

On the 3d of September, the Mercury, a congreſs packet, was taken by the Veſtal, Captain Keppel, near Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Laurens, late preſident of the congreſs, who was bound on an embaſſy to Holland. He had thrown his papers overboard, but great part of them were recovered without having received much damage. He was brought to London, and examined before the privy-council; in conſequence of which he was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower on the 6th of October on a charge of high treaſon. His papers were delivered to the miniſtry, and contributed to facilitate a rupture with Holland, as among them was found the ſketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the United States of America.

The ſiege of Gibraltar continued. The port was completely blocked up by a ſquadron of two 74-gun ſhips, ſeveral frigates, galleys, &c. A camp was formed on a plain below St. Roch, three miles from the fortreſs. The garriſon at this time conſiſted of 5382 men, including officers, with a company of engineers and artificers; but the greateſt expectations were formed from the abilities and valour of General Elliot the governor. As ſoon as the breaking off the communication with Spain indicated approaching hoſtilities, he took every precaution that could be ſuggeſted by military wiſdom; but, though informed of the rupture betwixt the two courts having actually taken place, and though he beheld the hoſtile operations of the enemy, no means were uſed to interrupt them till the 12th of September, when the batteries of Green's Lodge, Willis, and Queen Charlotte, were opened for a few hours, with a view to diſturb the workmen.

From this time to the beginning of the year 1780 the enemy continued the blockade both by ſea and land, but without doing any damage to the works or garriſon; and it was not until the 12th of January that a ſingle perſon was wounded. This happened to be a woman, who, paſſing near one of the houſes, was ſlightly hurt by a ſhot from the enemy. In the mean time, however, the uſual ſupplies of proviſions being cut off, the garriſon began to feel all the horrors of famine.

Had matters remained long in this ſtate, it is plain that the fortreſs, however ſtrong, muſt have fallen into the hands of the enemy. They were, however, effectually relieved in conſequence of the victory gained by Admiral Rodney over the Spaniſh fleet commanded by Don Juan de Langara. The former had been furniſhed with a ſtrong ſquadron, in order to relieve this important fortreſs; with which having ſet ſail, he in a few days fell in with a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen tranſports bound from Bilboa to Cadiz, and laden with proviſions and naval ſtores, convoyed by a man of war of 64 guns, four frigates, and two armed veſſels. Of theſe only a ſingle tranſport eſcaped, the reſt being all captured on the 8th of January, 1780; and the loſs of them, at the ſame time that it promiſed to be very ſerviceable to the garriſon, was equally detrimental to the enemy, who were now in great want both of proviſions and materials for their ſhipping.

This advantage was ſoon after followed by a much greater. On the 16th of the ſame month a Spaniſh ſquadron of eleven ſail of the line was diſcovered off Cape St. Vincent; and, the Britiſh admiral having taken the proper methods to come up with them as quickly as poſſible, an engagement took place about four in the afternoon. At this time the headmoſt ſhips of the Britiſh line cloſed in with the neareſt of the enemy, and in half an hour one of the Spaniards, mounting 70 guns, and having on-board ſix hundred men, blew up, and all on-board periſhed. In two hours more another Spaniſh ſhip of the line was taken; notwithſtanding which the fight continued with great vigour till two in the morning, when the headmoſt ſhip of the enemy ſtruck to the Sandwich; after which the firing ceaſed. The weather throughout the night was ſo tempeſtuous that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the Britiſh could take poſſeſſion of thoſe ſhips which ſurrendered. Theſe were ſix in number, but two of them drove aſhore and were loſt, only four being brought ſafe into Gibraltar. Theſe were the admiral's ſhip of 80 guns and ſeven hundred men, with three others of 70 guns and ſix hundred men. The engagement, however, happened ſo near the ſhore, and the Britiſh were ſo eager in ſecuring the lee-gage to prevent the enemy's eſcape, that Admiral Rodney's ſhip, together with ſome of the largeſt in the fleet, were in great danger of running on the ſhoals of St. Lucar; nor could they be got into deep water again without much labour and the exertion of great naval ſkill. It was the opinion of all who were preſent in the action, that had this engagement happened in the day-time, or had the weather been leſs boiſterous, not one of the Spaniſh ſhips could have eſcaped; and even as it was, thoſe which got off were ſo extremely damaged as to be unfit for ſervice.

The news of this important victory arrived at Gibraltar on the evening of the day after it was fought; and in two days more the garriſon was completely relieved by the arrival of the fleet and convoy, at the ſame time that they were farther reinforced by a regiment

ment of Highlanders, conſiſting of 1051 men, officers included. An opportunity was alſo taken of ſending away with the fleet all the invalids and women in the garriſon; with whom they ſet ſail on the 10th of February, leaving in the bay only the Edgar and Panther ſhips of the line, with two frigates.

As ſoon as Sir George Rodney had ſeen the ſupplies ſafely landed at Gibraltar, he proceeded to the Weſt Indies, ſending home his prizes with the detachment of the channel fleet under Admiral Darby, who, on his paſſage, captured the Prothée, a French ſhip of ſixty-four guns, and three veſſels laden with military ſtores, being part of a convoy bound to the Mauritius in the Eaſt Indies.

Though the re-inforcement under Admiral Rodney, after his arrival at St. Lucia on the 27th of March, ſtill left the Britiſh fleet ſomewhat inferior in number to that of the French at Martinique, yet he ſoon returned a late menacing viſit from the Count de Guichen, and remained for two days off Fort Royal harbour, endeavouring, but in vain, to provoke the enemy to an engagement. He then left a ſquadron of ſwift-ſailing veſſels to watch their motions, and took back the reſt of his fleet to St. Lucia. Things hung in this ſtate for nearly a fortnight, when intelligence was brought that the French fleet, conſiſting of twenty-three ſail of the line and a number of frigates, had put to ſea in the night of the 15th of April. Rodney, with three ſhips leſs, uſed ſuch exertions in purſuit of the enemy, as to come up with them in the morning of the 17th. At noon he made the ſignal for a general and cloſe engagement, ſetting himſelf a noble example to all his officers, by beating three of the enemy's ſhips ſucceſſively out of the line, and then bearing down upon the French admiral, whom, though aſſiſted by two ſeconds, he fought for an hour and a half with unremitting fury, till the enemy bore away, whereby their line of battle was entirely broken in the centre.

The great diſtance of the Britiſh van and rear, with the crippled ſtate of ſome of Rodney's diviſion, and particularly of his own ſhip, after having ſingly ſuſtained ſo unequal a conflict, rendered it impoſſible to make the victory complete by an immediate chace. His ſubſequent exertions to bring the enemy to an action were conſtantly eluded by the Count de Guichen, who firſt took ſhelter at Guadaloupe, and afterwards regained his former place of ſecurity at Fort Royal, though not without receiving ſome ſevere blows in a few partial rencounters. The arrival of a Spaniſh ſquadron of twelve ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports with above ten thouſand troops on-board, ſeemed to give the count an invincible ſuperiority, and to portend ruin to the Britiſh poſſeſſions, as well as to the Britiſh navy, in thoſe ſeas. The ſtorm blew over without a ſingle exploſion. A peſtilential diſtemper, which broke out among the Spaniſh troops, at firſt occaſioned ſome delay; and a difference of opinion between the commanders of the allied fleets prevented their co-operating in any enterpriſe. After remaining inactive for ſeveral weeks in the bay of Fort Royal, they all put to ſea in the night of the 5th of July, and directed their courſe to St. Domingo. Here they ſeparated, Don Solano proceeding with the Spaniſh fleet to the Havannah, and the Count de Guichen putting in to Cape François, where he remained till the homeward-bound trade from the French iſlands had aſſembled, when, taking it under his protection, he ſailed directly for Europe. Sir George Rodney, thinking that the count only meant to convoy the trade to a certain latitude, and then proceed to the continent of America, ſailed thither himſelf with eleven ſhips of the line and four frigates, to be in readineſs to thwart the deſigns of his old enemy in every quarter. Although he found, ſoon after his arrival at New York, in September, that this effort of his zeal for the public ſervice might have been diſpenſed with, yet, in the end, he had no cauſe to regret the trouble which he had taken, as it proved the means of ſaving the ſquadron under his immediate command from one of the moſt dreadful hurricanes that had ever ſwept the ſeas or deſolated the iſlands in the Weſt Indies.

On the departure of the Britiſh fleet from Gibraltar, the blockade was immediately reſumed; and, notwithſtanding the ample ſupplies lately received, the garriſon ſoon began again to experience the inconveniency of wanting freſh proviſions. It had hitherto received theſe in abundance from the coaſt of Barbary; but an unaccountable alteration had now taken place, ſo that the friendſhip of the Emperor of Morocco was transferred from Great Britain to Spain in a manner totally unprecedented. His partiality towards the latter was the more ſurpriſing, as Britain had given no provocation, and the enmity between Spain and Morocco ſeemed to be in a manner conſtitutional, and founded upon ſuch cauſes as could never ceaſe to operate. Thus, however, the garriſon became daily more and more diſtreſſed, from being obliged to make conſtant uſe of their ſalt proviſions, and even this with the ſtricteſt economy. The induſtry and reſolution of the Britiſh ſeamen and officers, indeed, ſometimes overcame all obſtacles, ſo that they found means to procure the neceſſary refreſhments; though in ſo doing they were certainly expoſed to the utmoſt danger from the enemy. At the ſame time the defence of the garriſon was ſo vigorous, that, while it continued to be ſupplied even in this ſcanty manner, the Spaniards began to loſe all hope of reducing it; for which reaſon they formed a project of burning all the Britiſh ſhipping in the bay. The night appointed for putting this ſcheme in execution was the 6th of June, 1780, when ten fire-ſhips, favoured by an uncommon darkneſs, ſtood over from the Spaniſh to the Britiſh ſide of the bay. Their deſign was to ſet fire to the ſtorehouſes neareſt the water ſide, as well as to the ſhipping there; but having been too precipitate in firing their ſhips, and being received alſo by a very heavy cannonade, the attempt was fruſtrated. On this occaſion the ſkill and intrepidity of the Britiſh ſeamen was eminently diſplayed. Having manned their boats, they grappled the fire-ſhips already in flames; and, notwithſtanding their dreadful appearance and the danger of their exploding, towed them clear of the veſſels under the walls, and extinguiſhed them.

The failure of this project was a grievous diſappointment to Don Barcelo the Spaniſh admiral, who lay ready with his ſquadron to intercept the Britiſh veſſels that might attempt to eſcape; at the ſame time that the batteries on their lines were in readineſs to bombard the town, if the fire-ſhips had ſucceeded in cauſing any conflagration on-ſhore. The failure of the preſent attempt, however, was ſoon followed by other diſaſters. As ſoon as they had, with great labour, puſhed forward their new works, and conſtructed new batteries, they were certainly deſtroyed by the beſieged; and their mortification on theſe occaſions was the greater, as it was uſual for the governor to allow them to complete their works before he commenced his deſtructive operations. Thus the labour of many days was often loſt in a few hours, and afterwards was to be reſumed with as little proſpect of ſucceſs as before. The garriſon were now conſiderably annoyed by the Spaniſh gun-boats, to which indeed the ſhipping were equally expoſed with themſelves. Theſe were veſſels from thirty to forty tons burden, conſtructed ſo that they lay low in the water, which rendered them difficult to be aimed at. They had fifteen oars on a ſide, carried forty or fifty men, with a twenty-ſix pounder on the prow; and, from the facility of managing them, two were deemed, in calm weather, to be a match for a frigate of moderate ſize.

All their efforts, however, could ſtill do no more than to reduce the garriſon to great ſtraits for want of proviſions; and to this dreadful inconvenience the Britiſh ſubmitted with the greateſt cheerfulneſs.

The ſiege and blockade continued till the peace in 1783, the account of which, however, we ſhall at once bring to a concluſion in this place.

From the time of Admiral Rodney's departure in February, 1780, to the month of October, almoſt the only proviſions in the garriſons were ſuch as tended to produce the ſcurvy; which accordingly raged in ſuch a manner as to threaten the moſt fatal conſequences. An antitode, however, was happily procured by the capture of a Daniſh dogger from Malaga laden with lemons and oranges, which the governor immediately purchaſed for the uſe of the garriſon, and diſtributed among them. Till this month the allowance of ſalt proviſions had continued undiminiſhed; but now it was judged neceſſary to reduce the allowance of bread and meat, and to make ſome other regulations in order to enforce the ſtricteſt economy with regard to food.

At laſt, on the 12th of April 1781, ſupplies were brought by the Britiſh fleet under admirals Darby, Digby, and Roſs, though they could not be got in without great difficulty. The gun-boats already-mentioned were now much increaſed in number and ſtrength of conſtruction; infeſting the bay in ſuch a manner as greatly to interrupt the debarkation of the ſtores. As no veſſels of the ſame kind had been prepared to oppoſe them, they could ſcarcely be prevented from effecting their purpoſe of burning the ſtore-ſhips. With this view they had approached them every morning in hazy weather to the number of between twenty and thirty, ſeveral of them carrying mortar pieces; and, as they uſed both ſails and oars, they eluded all purſuit, by withdrawing on the riſe of any breeze. To keep off theſe troubleſome gueſts, ſeveral ſtout frigates were obliged to ſtation themſelves along the bay for the protection of the ſhipping; but even this did not prevent them from continuing their moleſtation; and notwithſtanding the vigilance and activity of the Britiſh ſailors, it was ſeldom that they could come near enough to do them any damage.

In ſpite of all their endeavours, however, the garriſon was effectually relieved; an exploit which ſo exceedingly irritated the court of Spain, that they determined to exert the utmoſt force of the kingdom rather than fail in the execution of their favourite project. The works before the town were therefore carried on with more vigour than ever, and the moſt tremendous preparations made to cauſe the obſtinate garriſon to feel the reſentment of an exaſperated enemy. Their batteries were now mounted with guns of the heavieſt metal, and with mortar-pieces of the largeſt ſize; the number of the former augmented to near two hundred, and of the latter to upwards of eighty. For three weeks this prodigious artillery continued to pour forth an almoſt inceſſant ſhower of ſhot and ſhells, inſomuch that, in the time juſt mentioned, they had conſumed one hundred thouſand pounds of gunpowder, and thrown into the town four or five thouſand ſhot or ſhells every twenty-four hours.

By ſuch an immenſe bombardment the town was almoſt totally laid in ruins. The inhabitants, computed at more than three thouſand in number, experienced every difficulty that could ariſe from the deſtruction of their habitations: ſeveral of them were killed, and all forced to leave the town, and take ſhelter under tents with what accommodation could be provided for them in ſuch ſcenes of horror and confuſion. Numbers took the opportunity of retiring with the fleet; while many that remained were now reduced from a ſtate of opulence to the greateſt diſtreſs. The conduct of Governor Elliot was very humane and compaſſionate to ſuch as were obliged to ſtay; allowing them a free paſſage to England, and ſupplying them with proviſions for the voyage.

During this bombardment, not only the greateſt part of the effects belonging to the inhabitants were deſtroyed, but the fortifications were in many places greatly injured; and the worſt was, that the remainder were deſtroyed by the ſoldiers, who had arrived at ſuch a pitch of licentiouſneſs, that they neither regarded nor would obey their officers. They were incited to this deſtructive ſcheme by the avarice of ſome of the inhabitants, who had hoarded up and concealed a quantity of neceſſary articles, in order to procure an advanced price. They now, therefore, kept no bounds in diſſipation, waſte, and extravagance; a remarkable inſtance of which is given by Captain Drinkwater, in their roaſting a pig by a fire made of cinnamon. To put a ſtop to theſe atrocious proceedings, rigorous meaſures were of neceſſity adopted; and it was intimated, that any ſoldier convicted of being drunk or aſleep upon his poſt, or found marauding, ſhould be immediately executed.

By the beginning of June 1781, the enemy had relaxed conſiderably in their firing, ſeldom exceeding ſix hundred ſhot in a day; and continued gradually to diminiſh this number ſo remarkably, that towards the end of Auguſt they ſeldom fired in the day, and only diſcharged ſix or ſeven, and ſometimes not above three, ſhot in the night. The batteries at land, however, were ſucceeded by the gun-boats; which renewed their attacks every day, keeping the garriſon in continual alarm, and never failing to do more or leſs execution. To reſtrain them, therefore, a battery of guns capable of throwing their ſhot to a great diſtance was erected as near as poſſible to the enemy; and, as it reached their very camp, it was determined to open it upon them as often as the gun-boats made their attacks; which being ſoon perceived, they thought it prudent to deſiſt in ſome meaſure from that mode of hoſtility. They continued ſtill, however, to improve their works, and for this purpoſe employed the beſt engineers both of France and Spain; ſo that, by the latter part of November 1781, they had them brought to ſuch a ſtate of perfection as filled both kingdoms with the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs. Governor Elliot, far from being diſmayed at theſe formidable bulwarks, ſuffered them to proceed without moleſtation to the end of their ſcheme, that he might, as in a moment, deſtroy the labour of ſo many months, and thus render the diſappointment the greater.

In the night of the 27th of November, a choſen party of two thouſand men was detached, in order to deſtroy the enemies works and batteries; and their ſucceſs was equal to their moſt ſanguine expectation. They marched out in great order and ſilence about two o'clock in the morning, under the command of Brigadier-general Roſs; after which they proceeded with the ſame circumſpection, but with the utmoſt celerity, to the enemy's works, which they ſtormed and overthrew with aſtoniſhing rapidity. The Spaniards were inſtantly thrown into confuſion, and fled on every ſide; the guns and mortars on the batteries were all ſpiked up; and the artillery-men, artificers, and ſailors, exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that in the ſpace of an hour the magazines were blown up, the ſtore-houſes of arms, ammunition, and military implements of every kind, and all the works that had been conſtructed, were ſet on fire, and totally conſumed; the whole damage done on this occaſion being eſtimated at upwards of two millions ſterling.

For ſeveral days after this diſaſter the Spaniards continued inactive, without even making any attempt to extinguiſh their batteries, which ſtill continued in flames; but in the beginning of December, as if ſuddenly arouſed from their reverie, upwards of one thouſand men were ſet to work in order to prepare a great number of faſcines, from whence it was concluded that they deſigned to repair their works. In this they proceeded with their uſual perſeverance and diligence; but, as the former methods of attack had conſtantly failed, it was evident, that, if the place could be reduced at all, it muſt be by ſome means hitherto unattempted; and for the reduction of this ſingle fortreſs, the Spaniſh monarch, after the conqueſt of Minorca, determined to employ the whole ſtrength of his empire.

Among the various projects formed at this time, that of the Chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer of diſtinction, proved the moſt acceptable to the court of Spain; and, though the expence attending it was immenſe, this ſeemed, in the preſent circumſtances, to be but a matter of ſmall conſideration. His plan was to conſtruct ſuch floating batteries as might neither be liable to be ſunk nor ſet on fire. With this view their bottoms were made of the thickeſt timber, and their ſides of wood and cork long ſoaked in water, with a layer of wet ſand betwixt them. Their thickneſs was ſuch, that they were impenetrable to cannon ſhot; and to prevent the effects of red-hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived to carry water through every part of the veſſel, and pumps ſufficient to furniſh a conſtant ſupply for the purpoſe. The people at the batteries were ſheltered from the bombs by a rope-netting made ſloping, that they might roll off, and ſpread with wet ſkins to prevent fire. Ten of theſe batteries were conſtructed out of the hulls of large veſſels, ſome of fifty or ſixty guns, cut down for that purpoſe, and carrying from ten to twenty-eight guns each, with about half as many in reſerve in caſe of accidents. Each gun was ſerved by thirty-ſix artillery-men; and theſe floating batteries were to be ſeconded by eighty large boats carrying guns and mortars of heavy metal; a great number of ſhips of force and frigates, with ſome hundreds of ſmall craft, were to accompany them with troops, for the inſtant execution of what might be judged neceſſary.

On this occaſion upwards of one thouſand pieces of artillery and eighty thouſand barrels of gun-powder were provided. A body of twelve thouſand of the beſt troops of France were now added to the Spaniſh army before the place; the body of engineers was the beſt that both kingdoms could produce; and numbers of volunteers, of the beſt families in both, attended the ſiege. Numbers of military gentlemen alſo came from every part of Europe to be witneſſes of what paſſed at their celebrated ſiege, which was now compared to the moſt famous recorded in hiſtory. The conducting of it was committed to the Duke de Crillon, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the conqueſt of Minorca. Two princes of the blood royal of France, the Count of Artois brother to the king, and the Duke of Bourbon his couſin, came to be witneſſes of this extraordinary enterprize. Theſe behaved with the greateſt politeneſs both to the governor and garriſon. The Count of Artois tranſmitted a packet of letters for various individuals in the garriſon, which had been intercepted and carried to Madrid, and which he requeſted that he might be the means of conveying to thoſe for whom they were deſigned. Both he and the Duke of Bourbon ſignified to General Elliot the high regard they had for his perſon and character; and the Duke de Crillon himſelf took this opportunity of expreſſing the ſame ſentiments, and to intreat him to accept of ſome refreſhments. General Elliot returned a polite anſwer, but accepted of the preſent with reluctance, and requeſted him for the future not to confer any favours of that kind upon him.

Such a prodigious armament raiſed the confidence of the beſiegers ſo high, that they looked upon the conqueſt of the place as an abſolute certainty. They began to be impatient at the delays which aroſe in bringing matters to the utmoſt point of perfection; and the commander in chief was thought by far too modeſt, when he ſaid, that the garriſon might hold out for a fortnight.

As a prelude to the dreadful ſtorm which was about to be poured forth on this devoted garriſon, the enemy, on the 9th of September 1782, opened a battery of ſixty-four of their largeſt cannon, which was ſhortly accompanied with a terrible fire from other batteries, and a great number of mortars. On this and the following day an attack was made upon the batteries erected on Europa Point, (ſo called from being the moſt ſoutherly point of the continent of Europe,) which at that time were entirely under the management of Captain Curtis of the Brilliant frigate, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the ſiege, and now commanded a brigade of ſeamen by whom the batteries were ſerved. By theſe the fire of the Spaniards was ſo warmly returned, that they not only could make no impreſſion, but were forced to retire, after having received ſo much damage, that two of their principal ſhips were obliged to withdraw to the bay of Algeſiras, oppoſite to Gibralter, in order to refit. On the 12th the enemy made preparations for the enſuing day, which was allotted for their grand and deciſive attack. Accordingly, on the morning of the 13th, the ten floating batteries came forward, under the command of Don Buenventura de Moreno, a Spaniſh officer of great gallantry, and who had ſignalized himſelf at the taking of Minorca. Before ten o'clock they had all got into their proper ſtations, anchoring in a line about a thouſand yards diſtant from the ſhore. As ſoon as they were properly arranged, they began a heavy cannonade, and were ſeconded by all the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches, at the ſame time that the garriſon opened all its batteries both with hot and cold ſhot from the guns, and ſhells from the howitzers and mortars.

This terrible fire continued on both ſides without intermiſſion until noon; when that of the Spaniards began to ſlacken, and the fire of the garriſon to obtain a ſuperiority. About two o'clock the principal battering ſhip commanded by Don Moreno was obſerved to emit ſmoke as if on fire, and ſome men were ſeen buſy upon the roof ſearching from whence it proceeded. The fire from the garriſon was now kept up without the leaſt diſcontinuance or diminution, while that from the floating batteries was perceived ſenſibly to decreaſe; ſo that about ſeven in the evening they fired but few guns, and that only at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ſhip was plainly ſeen to burn, and an hour after was completely in flames. Eight more of theſe batteries took fire ſucceſſively; and on the ſignals of diſtreſs made by them, the multitude of feluccas, launches, and boats, with which they were ſurrounded, all came to their aſſiſtance, and began to take the men out of the burning veſſels. Captain Curtis, who lay ready with the gun-boats to take advantage of any favourable circumſtance, came upon them at two in the morning, and, forming a line on the enemy's flank, advanced upon them with ſuch order and expedition as to throw them into immediate confuſion. At this ſudden and unexpected attack they were ſo aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, totally abandoning their floating batteries to be burnt, and all who were in them to periſh in the flames. This would undoubtedly have been their fate, had not Captain Curtis extricated them from the fire at the imminent danger of his own life and that of his men. In this work he was ſo eager, that, while his boat was along-ſide of one of the largeſt batteries, it blew up, and, the fragments of the wreck ſpreading all around to a vaſt diſtance, ſome heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat and pierced through its bottom, killing one man and wounding ſeveral others. He eſcaped with difficulty out of this boat, which was ſunk, as well as another, by the ſame accident. The floating batteries were every one conſumed; and the violence with which they exploded was ſuch, that doors and windows at a great diſtance on-ſhore were burſt open. About four hundred people were ſaved from them; many of whom were picked up floating on rafts and pieces of timber. Indeed the blowing up of the batteries as the flames reached their powder-rooms, and the diſcharge of the guns in ſucceſſion as the metal became heated by the fire, rendered any attempt to ſave them very dangerous.

Though this terrible repulſe effectually convinced the Spaniards that Gibraltar could not be taken by force, ſome hope ſtill remained, that, without any further exertions on their part, the garriſon would be obliged to ſurrender from want of ammunition and proviſions. With this view they continued to blockade it cloſely, and to cut off all communication, flattering themſelves that Britain would not be able to collect a naval force ſufficient to drive their fleet from the bay before the fortreſs was reduced to extremity; and this, they imagined, muſt be the caſe in a few days. Such diligence, however, had been uſed on the part of the Britiſh, that a fleet was already aſſembled at Portſmouth, conſiſting of thirty-five ſail of the line, in excellent condition, and filled with the beſt officers and ſailors in Europe. The command was given to Lord Howe, who was accompanied in the expedition by Admirals Barrington, Milbank, Hood, Sir Richard Hughes, and Commodore Hotham, all of them men eminent in their profeſſion.

The progreſs of theſe ſhips was delayed by contrary winds, and it was not until they had gained the ſouthern coaſt of Portugal that they received information of the defeat of the enemy's attempt on the 13th of September. On the 11th of October Lord Howe entered the Straits, and ſeveral of the ſtore-ſhips deſtined for Gibraltar came ſafe to anchor under the cannon of the fort without any moleſtation from the enemy. The combined fleet in the mean time had been much damaged by a ſtorm; they however put to ſea on the 13th, with a view to prevent the remaining ſtore-ſhips that had overſhot the bay to the eaſt from making good their entrance into it; and at the ſame time to rejoin two ſhips that had been ſeparated from the main body by the ſtorm. Having the advantage of the wind, they bore down upon the Britiſh fleet, which drew up in order of battle to receive them; but, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, they declined coming to an engagement. On the wind becoming more favourable next day, Lord Howe took the opportunity to bring in the ſtoreſhips that were in company; and the day following the remainder were conveyed to Gibraltar, the troops for the reinforcement of the garriſon were landed, with a large ſupply of powder, and ample proviſion in every other reſpect. As they returned through Straits, they were threatened with an engagement by the combined fleets; but, though the latter had a ſuperiority of twelve ſhips of the line, they kept at a wary diſtance. Some firing indeed took place, but it was attended with little effect on either ſide.

This laſt relief proved entirely deciſive; for though the blockade continued 'till news arrived of the preliminaries of peace being ſigned, in the beginning of February 1783, no other attack was made. The news of the pacification were received with the utmoſt joy by the Spaniards. Mutual civilities paſſed between the commanders in chief, and the Duke de Crillon paid many handſome compliments to the governor and garriſon for their noble defence.

To return to the domeſtic affairs of the year 1780.—In the beginning of February, a plan was brought forward by Mr. Burke, for ſecuring the independency of parliament, and introducing economy into the various departments of government. This plan, among other things, propoſed the abolition of the offices of treaſurer, comptroller, and cofferer, of the houſehold; treaſurer of the chamber, maſter of the houſehold, the board of green cloth, with ſeveral other places under the ſteward of the houſehold; the great and removing wardrobe, the jewel-office, the robes, board of works, and the civil branch of the board of ordnance. Other reformations were alſo propoſed; but though the temper of the times obliged the miniſter to admit the bills, and even to pretend an approbation of the plan, he meant nothing leſs than to admit it in its full extent, or indeed in any part, if it could poſſibly be prevented. When the plan, therefore, which he had approved in general, came to be particularly conſidered, he was found to be determined againſt every part of it. The general temper of the people, without doors, however, ſeemed now to have affected many of the members of parliament, and made them deſert their old ſtandard. An economical plan propoſed in the houſe of lords by the Earl of Shelburne was rejected only by a majority of 101 to 55. This was the ſtrongeſt oppoſition that had appeared in that houſe for many years; but in the lower houſe matters ſtill went worſe. The firſt propoſition in Mr. Burke's plan was to aboliſh the office of ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies; and the utmoſt efforts of adminiſtration could preſerve this office only by a majority of 208 to 201. The board of trade was *aboliſhed* by 207 to 198: but this was the only defeat ſuſtained by miniſtry at preſent; all the reſt of the plan being rejected excepting only one clauſe, by which it was determined that the offices of lieutenant and enſign, &c. belonging to the yeomen of the guards, ſhould not any longer be ſold, but given to officers in the army and navy on half-pay, and of fifteen years ſtanding in their reſpective lines of ſervice.

This ill ſucceſs was very mortifying to Mr. Burke, who had expected to ſave more than a million annually to the nation. Adminiſtration, however, had ſtill a greater defeat to meet with than what they had experienced in the abolition of the board of trade. The 6th of April was the day appointed for taking into conſideration the numerous petitions, from half the kingdom of England, already mentioned. They were introduced by Mr. Dunning; who, in a very elaborate ſpeech, ſet forth the many attempts that had been made to introduce reformation and economy into the plans of government. Theſe had been defeated by miniſterial artifice, or overthrown by mere dint of numbers: he concluded therefore, and moved as a reſolution of the houſe, "That the influence of the crown had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed." This motion being *carried* after a long and violent debate, he next moved, that the houſe of commons was as competent to examine into and correct abuſes in the expenditure of the civil liſt as in any other branch of the public revenue. To this another was added by Mr. Thomas Pitt, that it was the duty of the houſe to provide an immediate and effectual redreſs of the abuſes complained of in the petitions. The miniſtry now requeſted that nothing farther might be done that night: but ſuch was the temper of the houſe, that both theſe motions were carried without a diviſion; after which they were read a firſt and ſecond time, and agreed to without a diviſion.

Miniſtry had never received ſuch a complete defeat, nor ever been treated with ſo much aſperity of language. The news of the proceedings of this day were received by the people at large with as much joy as if the moſt complete victory over a foreign enemy had been announced. Oppoſition, however, though maſters of the field at preſent, did not imagine they had obtained any permament victory, and therefore reſolved to make the moſt of the advantages they had gained. It was moved by Mr. Dunning at the next meeting, that to aſcertain the independence of parliament, and remove all ſuſpicions of its being under undue influence, there ſhould, every ſeſſion, ſeven days after the meeting of parliament, be laid before that houſe an account of all the ſums iſſued out of the civil liſt, or any other branch of the revenue, ſince the laſt receſs, in favour of any of its members. This paſſed with little difficulty; but when he moved that the treaſurers of the chamber and houſehold, the cofferer, comptroller, and maſter of the houſehold, with the clerks of the green cloth, and their deputies, ſhould be excluded from having ſeats in the houſe, a warm debate enſued; and the motion was carried only by 215 againſt 213. This was the laſt triumph of the popular party; their next motion, for the excluſion of revenue officers, being thrown out by 224 againſt 195. A laſt effort was made by Mr. Dunning's propoſal of an addreſs to the throne againſt proroguing or diſſolving the parliament, until meaſures had been taken to prevent the improper influence complained of in the petitions. On this occaſion the debates were long and violent; but the motion was loſt by 254 againſt 203. Miniſtry would gladly have ſcreened their friends from the vengeance of oppoſition; alleging the lateneſs of the hour, it being then paſt midnight. The ſpeaker of the houſe, however, perceiving Mr. Fox about to riſe, inſiſted that the houſe ſhould remain ſitting; and thus the deſerters from the popular party were condemned to hear their conduct ſet forth in ſuch terms as perhaps were never applied on any other occaſion to members of the Britiſh ſenate.

This laſt victory of adminiſtration confirmed the diſſatisfaction and ill opinion which the people had conceived of the majority of their repreſentatives. It was in the height of that ill temper which the conduct of parliament had created in the multitude, that thoſe diſcontents broke out which were ſo near involving the kingdom in univerſal deſolation.—The relief granted to the Roman catholics, in the ſeſſion of 1778, was at the time very generally approved of throughout England; but in Scotland, the ſpirit of bigotry and fanaticiſm immediately took the alarm, and, on the bare ſuſpicion that a ſimilar indulgence was to be extended to the papiſts in that part of the kingdom, Edinburgh and Glaſgow were filled with tumult: the popiſh chapel in the metropolis was deſtroyed; and the houſes of the principal catholics were attacked and plundered. Inſtead of oppoſing the frantic rabble with firmneſs and ſpirit, the lord provoſt iſſued a ſingular proclamation, aſcribing the riots to the "apprehenſions, fears, and diſtreſſed minds of *well-meaning* people," and aſſuring them, "that no repeal of the penal ſtatutes againſt papiſts in Scotland would take place."

Encouraged by this puſillanimity, the ſpecies of perſecution was gradually extended to England; and a ſociety was formed in London, which took the title of the Proteſtant Aſſociation, of which Lord George Gordon, who had rendered himſelf conſpicuous in Scotland by his oppoſition to the repeal, was elected preſident; and it now prepared to act in a deciſive manner againſt the reſolutions of the legiſlature.

On the 29th of May 1780, the aſſociators held a meeting in order to ſettle in what manner they ſhould preſent a petition to the houſe of commons againſt the repeal of the penal ſtatutes. A long ſpeech was made on this occaſion by their preſident, who repreſented the Roman perſuaſion as gaining ground rapidly in this country; that the only method of ſtopping its progreſs, was to go up with a ſpirited remonſtrance to their repreſentatives, and to tell them in plain and reſolute terms that they were determined to preſerve their religious freedom with their lives, &c.

This harangue being received with the loudeſt applauſe, he moved, that the whole body of the aſſociation ſhould meet on the 2d day of June in St. George's Fields, at ten in the morning, to accompany him to the houſe of commons on the delivery of the petition. This being unanimouſly aſſented to, he informed them, that if he found himſelf attended by fewer than 20,000, he would not preſent the petition. He then directed they ſhould form themſelves into four diviſions; the firſt, ſecond, and third, to conſiſt of thoſe who belonged to the City, Weſtminſter, and Southwark; the fourth of the Scotch reſidents in London. They were, by way of diſtinction, to wear blue cockades in their hats.

Three days previous to the preſentation of the petition, he gave notice of it to the houſe, and acquainted it with the manner in which it was to be preſented; but this was received with as much indifference and unconcern as all his former intimations.

On the 2d of June, according to appointment, about 50 or 60,000 men aſſembled in St. George's Fields. They drew up in four ſeparate diviſions, as had been agreed, and proceeded to the parliament houſe, with Lord George Gordon at their head. An immenſe roll of parchment was carried before them, containing the names of thoſe who had ſigned the petition, or put their marks. On their way to the houſe, they behaved with great peaceableneſs and decency; but as ſoon as they were arrived, great diſturbances took place. The rioters began by compelling all the members of both houſes they met with, to put blue cockades in their hats, and call out, "No Popery." They forced ſome to take an oath that they would vote for the repeal of the popery act, as they ſtyled it. They treated others with great indignity, poſting themſelves in all the avenues to both houſes; the doors of which they twice endeavoured to break open.

Their rage was chiefly directed againſt the members of the houſe of lords; ſeveral of whom narrowly eſcaped with their lives. During theſe diſturbances, Lord George Gordon moved for leave to bring up the petition. This was readily granted; but when he propoſed it ſhould be taken into immediate conſideration, it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by almoſt the whole houſe. Enraged at this oppoſition, he came out ſeveral times to the people during the debates, acquainting them how averſe the houſe appeared to grant their petition, and naming particularly thoſe who had ſpoken againſt it.

Several members of the houſe expoſtulated with him in the warmeſt terms on the unjuſtifiableneſs of his conduct; and one of his relations, Colonel Gordon, threatened to run him through the moment any of the rioters ſhould force their entrance into the houſe. It was ſome hours before the houſe could carry on its deliberations with any regularity, which was not done till the members were relieved by the arrival of a party of the guards. Order being reſtored, the buſineſs of the petition was reſumed; when Lord George Gordon told them it had been ſigned by near 120,000 Britiſh Proteſtant ſubjects. He therefore inſiſted that the petition ſhould be conſidered without delay. But notwithſtanding the dangers with which they were menaced, and the proof which the mover of the petition had given that no means would be left unemployed to compel them to grant it, the commons continued immoveable in their determination. Of 200 members, then preſent in the houſe, ſix only voted for it. In the mean time, the mob had diſperſed itſelf into various parts of the metropolis, where they demoliſhed two Romiſh chapels belonging to foreign miniſters; and openly vented the moſt terrible menaces againſt all people of that perſuaſion.

On the 4th of June they aſſembled in great numbers in the eaſtern parts of London; and attacked the chapels and houſes of the Roman Catholics in that quarter, ſtripping them of their contents, which they threw into the ſtreet, and committed to the flames. They renewed their outrages on the following day, deſtroying ſeveral Romiſh chapels, and demoliſhing the houſe of Sir George Saville in reſentment of his having brought into parliament the bill in favour of the Roman Catholics.

Next day both houſes met as uſual; but, finding that no buſineſs could be done, they adjourned to the 19th.

During this day and the following, which were the 6th and 7th of June, the rioters were abſolute maſters of the metropolis and its environs. Some of thoſe who had been concerned in the demolition of the chapels belonging to foreign miniſters, having been ſeized and ſent to Newgate, the mob collected before that priſon, and demanded their immediate releaſe. On being refuſed, they proceeded to throw fire-brands and all manner of combuſtibles into the keeper's houſe; which unhappily communicated the fire to the whole building; ſo that this immenſe pile was ſoon in flames. In this ſcene of confuſion the priſoners were all releaſed. They amounted to about 300; among whom ſeveral were under ſentence of death. They ſet fire, in the ſame manner, to the King's-bench and Fleet priſons, and to a number of houſes belonging to Roman Catholics. The terror occaſioned by theſe incendiaries was ſuch, that moſt people hung out of their windows pieces of blue ſilk, which was the colour aſſumed by the rioters; and chalked on their doors and ſhutters the words, "No Popery," by way of ſignifying they were friendly to their cauſe.

The night of the 7th of June concluded theſe horrors. No leſs than thirty-ſix different conflagrations were counted at the ſame time. The Bank had been threatened, and was twice aſſailed; but happily was too well guarded for their attempts. In the evening, large bodies of troops arrived from all parts, and came in time to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the rioters. They fell upon them every where, and many were ſlain and wounded, beſides the numbers that periſhed through intoxication. It was not until the afternoon of the 8th, that people began to recover from their conſternation. During great part of the day, the diſorders of the preceding night had created ſo terrible an alarm, that the ſhops were almoſt univerſally ſhut up over all London. The melancholy effects of miſguided zeal were not, however, confined ſolely to London. The outrageous diſpoſition of the populace was preparing to act the like horrid ſcenes in other parts of England. The mob roſe in Hull, Briſtol, and Bath; but through the timely interpoſition of the magiſtracy, theſe places were ſaved from their fury.

On the ſubſiding of this violent and unexpected commotion, it was thought proper to ſecure Lord George Gordon. He was arreſted, and committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, after having undergone a long examination before the principal lords of the council. He was after tried for high treaſon, and acquitted.

The members of the houſe of commons began to aſſemble early on the 8th of June; but upon the ſpeaker's pointing out to ſuch as were preſent the impoſſibility of exerciſing their legiſlative functions, while the city of Weſtminſter was under martial law, they adjourned to the 19th, as the lords had done two days before. The meeting of both houſes, after this compelled receſs, was opened by his majeſty with a very judicious ſpeech, lamenting the neceſſity which had obliged him, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to employ the force entruſted to him for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe acts of felony and treaſon, which had overborne all civil authority, and threatened the immediate ſubverſion of the legal power, the deſtruction of all property, and the confuſion of every order in the ſtate. Addreſſes of thanks were voted in reply to this ſpeech, without a ſingle negative in either houſe. The various petitions were now taken into conſideration that had been preſented for the repeal of the act which had occaſioned the riots; but the houſe continued in the ſame mind. It was determined that no repeal of the act in favour of the Roman catholics ſhould take place, as the grievances ſaid to ariſe from it were imaginary: but the committee agreed to ſeveral reſolutions, tending to ſet the conduct of parliament in a fair light, and to undeceive the ill-informed yet well-meaning part of the petitioners againſt that act. A bill was alſo carried through the lower houſe to reſtrain papiſts from taking upon them the education of proteſtant children; but many of the lords thinking it derogatory from their dignity and independence to have *any* bill forced upon them by popular outrage, or paſſed through a weak compliance with abſurd prejudices, threw out the bill.

As ſome good is often obſerved to ariſe out of the greateſt evils, ſo government derived at this time no ſmall increaſe of power and ſtability from thoſe very riots, which aimed at nothing leſs than its total ſubverſion. The nation could not have received a more ſeaſonable warning of the dreadful exceſſes, into which popular aſſociations for any reform or pretended redreſs of grievances are too apt to lead; and the frenzy of the fanatics ſerved to ſhew how eaſily the paſſions of ignorant men may be inflamed by the moſt frivolous and imaginary cauſes of complaint. The numberleſs diſcontents, which the artifice of faction had been very ſucceſsful in exciting, appeared now to be equally unfounded; and the ſtrongeſt proof of this was, that the very year, in which they broke out with ſo much violence, had been hitherto marked with unuſual plenty at home, and the moſt brilliant ſucceſſes abroad.

While the Britiſh were making the moſt vigorous efforts, and even in the main getting the better of the powers who oppoſed them fairly in the field, enemies were raiſed up throughout all Europe, who, by reaſon of their acting indirectly, could neither be oppoſed nor reſiſted. The power which moſt openly manifeſted its hoſtile intentions was Holland; but beſides this, a moſt formidable confederacy, under the title of the *armed neutrality*, was formed, evidently with a deſign to cruſh the power of Great Britain. Of this confederacy the Empreſs of Ruſſia declared herſelf the head; and her plan was intimated as early as the 26th of February 1780, in a declaration addreſſed to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid. The grand principle of this ſcheme was, that a free ſhip ſhould make free goods, or, in other words, that a neutral ſhip, although loaded with a cargo belonging to one of the powers at war; ſhould paſs as free and unmoleſted as in time of peace.

The memorial of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, though very unfavourable to the views of Great Britain, received a civil anſwer from that court: but by other powers it was received, as it might naturally be expected, with much more cordiality. In the anſwer of the king of France it was ſaid, "what her imperial majeſty claimed from the belligerent powers was nothing elſe than the rules preſcribed to the French navy; the execution whereof was maintained with an exactneſs known and applauded by all Europe." The Kings of Sweden and Denmark alſo formally acceded to the armed neutrality propoſed by the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and declared their perfect approbation of her ſentiments. The States-general did the ſame: but, on account of that ſlowneſs of deliberation which prevails in the councils of the republic, it was not till towards the cloſe of the year that their concurrence was notified to the court of Ruſſia. It was reſolved by the powers engaged in this armed neutrality to make a common cauſe of it at ſea againſt any of the belligerent powers who ſhould violate, with reſpect to neutral nations, the principles which had been laid down in the memorial of the Empreſs of Ruſſia.

Though the Britiſh miniſtry could not openly engage in war with all the other powers of Europe, they determined to take ſevere vengeance on the Dutch, whoſe ingratitude and perfidy now became a general ſubject of ſpeculation. Ever ſince the commencement of hoſtilities with the Americans, the Dutch had ſhown much partiality towards them. This continued to be the caſe, even beyond what the natural avidity of a mercantile people could be ſuppoſed to produce: they not only ſupplied them with merchandiſe, but with warlike ſtores. After the interference of France and Spain in the quarrel, the ſelfiſh and treacherous conduct of the Dutch became ſtill more evident. Their ports were open to the rebellious ſubjects as well as to the inveterate enemies of Great Britain; and the vaſt profits of a contraband trade made them regardleſs of every conſideration of honour and friendſhip. Various remonſtrances were made on this head by the Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague, but without effect.

One of the ſubjects of complaint deſerves particular notice. An encounter took place in the month of September, 1779, between Captain Pearſon of the Serapis man of war, accompanied by the Scarborough frigate, having under their convoy the trade from the Baltic, and Paul Jones, the commander of an American ſquadron, which had for ſome time before infeſted the Britiſh ſeas. After a very fierce and bloody action, during which the convoy had full time to eſcape, the Serapis and Scarborough were taken and carried to the Texel. On this a very ſtrong memorial was preſented to the States General by Sir Joſeph Yorke, claiming thoſe ſhips and their crews, as having been captured by "a rebel ſubject and a criminal of the ſtate." Their High Mightineſſes replied,

" that they were not authoriſed to paſs judgment on thoſe prizes or on the perſon of Paul Jones." The breach between both countries grew wider and wider every day. About three months after the former event, Commodore Fielding fell in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ſhips, convoyed by a ſmall ſquadron of men of war under Count Byland; and deſiring permiſſion to viſit the merchant ſhips, in order to aſcertain whether they contained any contraband goods, was peremptorily refuſed by the Dutch admiral. On this, he fired a ſhot a-head of the count, who returned a broadſide: Commodore Fielding did the ſame; and then the Dutch immediately ſtruck their colours. In the mean time the greateſt part of the convoy bore away to the coaſt of France; but ſuch of them as remained, and had naval ſtores on-board, were ſtopped, and the Dutch admiral was informed that he was at liberty to hoiſt his colours and proſecute his voyage. But he refuſed to quit his convoy, and accompanied the commodore to Portſmouth. It is no wonder, that the demand of redreſs made by the ſtates, after ſo flagrant a breach of the law of nations on their part, ſhould be treated with contempt by the Britiſh court. But, on the 17th of April following, his majeſty publiſhed a declaration, ſtating " that repeated memorials having been preſented by his ambaſſador to the States General, demanding the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, to which requiſition they had given no anſwer, nor ſignified any intention of compliance, his majeſty conſidered their High Mightineſſes as having deſerted the alliance that had ſo long ſubſiſted between Great Britain and the republic; and his majeſty from that time ſuſpended, proviſionally, all the ſtipulations of the ſeveral exiſting treaties, particularly of the marine treaty of 1674." The immediate deſign of ſuch explicit language was to convince the ſtates of the determined ſpirit of the Britiſh cabinet, and to prevent them, if poſſible, from acceding to the late confederacy of Ruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden, the real object of which, under the ſhow of protecting the freedom of commerce, was to render legitimate the moſt fraudulent intercourſe between neutral powers and thoſe at war. But the Dutch, equally unprepared for hoſtilities on the one hand, and unwilling on the other to forego the advantages of a gainful, though perfidious and illicit trade, had recourſe, as uſual, to procraſtination and delay, till matters were brought to an iſſue by the incident of the Mercury congreſs packet being taken by the Veſtal, with Mr. Laurens on-board, as mentioned, p. 183. His papers were found to contain the ſketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the ſtates of America, ſome articles of which had been proviſionally agreed to and ſigned two years before at Aix-la-Chapelle by William Lee, formerly an alderman of London, but then an agent for congreſs, and John de Neufville, a merchant of Amſterdam, acting under powers delegated to him by the grand penſionary of that city. Theſe papers were immediately tranſmitted to the Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague, who was inſtructed to preſent a memorial to the States General, requiring them to diſavow the proceedings of the grand penſionary and his accomplices, and to inflict upon them a puniſhment ſuitable to the magnitude of their offences: he was farther enjoined to declare, that, if ſatisfaction in theſe reſpects ſhould be either refuſed or delayed, the States General would be conſidered as making themſelves parties to the injury, and ſuch meaſures be purſued as the law of nations authoriſed for compelling a reparation of the wrong. The memorial was accordingly preſented; and no ſatisfactory anſwer being returned by the States General within the time expected, Sir Joſeph Yorke was recalled, and on the 20th of December, 1780, letters of repriſal were ordered to be iſſued againſt the Dutch.

As the commencement of hoſtilities againſt the

Dutch had taken place during the Chriſtmas receſs, it did not become a ſubject of debate in the great council of the nation till the 25th of January. Parliament had been diſſolved on the 1ſt of September, and a new one convened the 31ſt of October; but nothing worthy of notice had paſſed in either houſe before the holidays, except the election of a ſpeaker of the commons, in which the ſtrength of the oppoſition was vainly exerted for the re-appointment of Sir Fletcher Norton, there being only 134 voices in his favour, againſt 203 who voted for Mr. Cornwall. The royal meſſage on the indiſpenſible neceſſity of the war with the Dutch gave riſe to long and angry, but unintereſting, diſcuſſions.

The accounts from the Eaſt Indies were very perplexing. A ſpirit of intrigue and conqueſt, of rapacity and ambition, ſeemed to have pervaded the whole ſyſtem of Britiſh government in that part of the world, and to have at length provoked a moſt formidable confederacy of the native powers. While a part of the company's forces were engaged on one ſide in hoſtilities with the Mahrattas, Hyder Ally, on the other, broke into the Carnatic with a vaſt army in the month of July 1780, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages. On the 10th of September, he ſurrounded a large body of troops under Colonel Baillie, who were entirely cut to pieces, or made priſoners. He then attacked and made himſelf maſter of Arcot; and ſcarcely did the government of Madras believe itſelf to be in ſafety, when Sir Eyre Coote arrived to take the command of the forces on the coaſt of Coromandel, and by the moſt extraordinary efforts ſtopped Hyder's career, and defeated him in ſeveral engagements, in which, to uſe the gallant veteran's own words, "every nerve was exerted to the very extent of poſſibility." The firſt intelligence of thoſe unexpected convulſions in the Eaſt occaſioned the appointment of a ſecret committee of the houſe of commons to inquire into the cauſes of the Mahratta war, and that in the Carnatic. Their reports on the ſubject afterwards engaged no ſmall ſhare of public notice, but did not produce any effectual correction of the evil. A bill had likewiſe been brought in, and was paſſed at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, for reſtraining the arbitrary encroachments of the ſupreme court of judicature in Bengal; and another, by which the company were, for a limited term, continued in the enjoyment of their preſent privileges, with a clauſe compelling them to pay about 400,000l. to the public, in aid of ſupply, and as a juſt participation in their revenues and profits.

The military hiſtory of the preſent year was marked in its commencement by a ſecond attempt of the French upon the iſland of Jerſey. The Baron de Rullecourt, who had been next in command to Count Naſſau in the former attack, landed with about 800 men at a place called the Violet Bank in the night of the 15th of January; and, to the aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants, when the day began to dawn, the market-place of St. Helier was found occupied by French troops. The houſe of Major Corbet, the lieutenant-governor, being entirely ſurrounded, he was ſo far intimidated as to ſign articles of capitulation. But when Elizabeth Caſtle was ſummoned, Captain Aylward, the commander, far from paying the leaſt regard to the acts of the governor in his preſent ſtate of durance, fired upon the French and obliged them to retreat; and Major Pierſon, a young and gallant officer, ſecond in command, having aſſembled the regular troops and militia of the iſland on the heights near the town, attacked the enemy with the greateſt reſolution. Baron Rullecourt being at the commencement of the action mortally wounded, the French troops in leſs than half an hour laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Unfortunately almoſt the laſt ſhot previous to the ſurrender proved fatal to Major Pierſon, in whoſe conduct, during the whole of this tranſaction, diſcretion and valour had been equally conſpicuous.

Early information of the rupture with Holland having been tranſmitted to the Weſt Indies, Admiral Rodney, who had returned to that ſtation from New York, and General Vaughan, appeared with a conſiderable force, in the beginning of February, 1781, before the iſland of St. Euſtatia, that famous depoſit of wealth and mart of traffic. This iſland, though not twenty miles in circumference, abounded at that time with riches, by reaſon of the vaſt conflux of trade from every other iſland in theſe ſeas. Being a free port, it was open to all the ſubjects of the belligerent powers; and thus a communication was eſtabliſhed among them, through which they were enabled to carry on a commercial correſpondence, which greatly mitigated the inconveniences of war. The greateſt benefit, however, was reaped by the Dutch; who, by tranſacting all trading buſineſs for other nations, were thus entruſted with numberleſs commiſſions, and likewiſe enjoyed vaſt profits from the ſale of the merchandizes to which they were intitled. At the time the attack was made upon them, they were ſo little under any apprehenſions of ſuch an event, that their warehouſes were not ſufficient to contain the quantity of commercial articles imported for ſale, and the beach and ſtreets were covered with hogſheads of tobacco and ſugar. In this ſituation, Admiral Rodney ſuddenly appeared before the iſland with ſuch an armament of ſea and land forces, as in its defenceleſs ſituation was not only uſeleſs but ridiculous. The governor, De Graaf, could ſcarcely credit the officer who ſummoned him to ſurrender; but being convinced how matters ſtood, the only poſſible ſtep was taken, namely, to ſurrender the whole iſland, and every thing in it, at diſcretion. The immenſe property of the iſland was declared to be confiſcated, with a degree of indiſcriminate rigour, which the paſt treachery of the Dutch could hardly juſtify. The value of the commodities thus ſeized was eſtimated at four millions ſterling. A Dutch frigate of thirty-ſix guns, five others of inferior force, and more than two hundred ſail of merchantmen, were taken in the bay; and a fleet of thirty ſhips richly laden, which had ſailed for Holland two days before, were purſued and brought back, with a man of war that convoyed them, under the command of Admiral Byland, who loſt his life in a vain effort of reſiſtance. This capture became afterwards a ſubject of diſcuſſion in parliament, where the conduct of the Britiſh commanders was ſeverely ſcrutinized by Mr. Burke. The admiral and general made their defence in perſon: but the minority at that time were far from being ſatisfied; and it was ſuppoſed that on the change of miniſtry a rigid inquiry would have been ſet on foot, had not the ſplendor of Admiral Rodney's victory over De Graſſe put an end to all thoughts of that nature.

The neighbouring ſmall iſlands of St. Martin and Saba were reduced in a ſimilar manner; and, nearly about the ſame time, the Dutch ſettlements of Demerary, Iſſequibo, and Berbicia, on the ſouthern main, made a tender of ſubmiſſion to the governor of Barbadoes, the rivers leading to the two former having been boldly entered, and all the veſſels ſeized, by a ſquadron of privateers from Briſtol. The deputies from thoſe ſettlements were referred to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, who thought them deſerving of more lenity than the people of St. Euſtatia, and ſecured to them the full poſſeſſion of their civil government and private property.

While the Britiſh commanders were detained in adjuſting the concerns of their new acquiſition, a French fleet under the Count de Graſſe, after a partial engagement with Admiral Hood, whom Rodney had detached to intercept it, ſteered its courſe to the iſland of Tobago, on which the Marquis de Bouillè made an immediate deſcent. The governor, Mr. Ferguſon, made a gallant reſiſtance; but was at laſt obliged to ſurrender, as no proſpect of ſuccours appeared. On his return to England, he complainly loudly that the iſland had been unneceſſarily loſt. Admiral Rodney had ſent Rear-admiral Drake with ſix ſail of the line, three frigates, and ſome troops, to the aſſiſtance of the iſland; but they were ſent too late, and the iſland had capitulated before any relief was afforded it. In a letter of Admiral Rodney, which was publiſhed in the Gazette, ſome ſurpriſe was expreſſed, that the place had ſurrendered ſo ſoon: upon which Governor Ferguſon publiſhed an account of the ſiege, ſigned with his name, in all the London papers, in which he recriminated on the admiral. The governor's narrative was ſo perſpicuous, ſo apparently ſatisfactory, and his charge againſt the admiral ſo ſtrong, that it was thought incumbent on the latter to vindicate his conduct: but no anſwer to the governor's accuſation ever appeared.

Admiral Rodney was baffled in all his attempts, during the remainder of the ſummer, to bring the enemy to a general engagement. Other mortifying circumſtances ſoon concurred to render the conqueſt of St. Euſtatia an object rather of vexation than of triumph. It ſeemed as if the ſpoil of that iſland had been ſubject to ſome fatality, which was to deprive the nation, as well as the captors, of its benefit. A rich convoy, freighted with the moſt valuable commodities taken there, was intercepted on its way to England by a French ſquadron; and the iſland itſelf, with its little dependencies, St. Martin's and Saba, were re-conquered in November by a ſmall force under the Marquis de Bouille, which happened as follows: St. Euſtatius is naturally of ſuch difficult acceſs, that it is almoſt impoſſible for an enemy to effect a landing if proper care is taken by thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of it. This very circumſtance proved the ruin of the new poſſeſſors. The Britiſh, ſecure in their inacceſſible ſituation, conducted themſelves in ſuch a manner as induced the Marquis de Bouille to make an attempt to regain it. Having ſailed from Martinico at the head of 2000 men, he arrived, on the 26th of November 1781, off one of the landing places of the iſland, which was deemed ſo inacceſſible that it had been left without a guard. With much loſs and difficulty, however, he landed here with four or five hundred of his people during the night. The appearance of day put an end to his landing any more; and he now ſaw himſelf obliged either to relinquiſh the enterpriſe or to attack the garriſon, which was almoſt double the number of thoſe he had on the iſland. He choſe the latter; and was favoured in his enterpriſe by the extreme negligence of his antagoniſts. A difficult paſs, which a few men might have occupied with ſucceſs againſt a great number, was left unguarded; this the marquis ſecured in time, and then puſhed forward with the utmoſt expedition. The Britiſh, miſtaking a body of Iriſh troops which attended the French commander for their own comrades, ſuffered them to approach without thinking of oppoſing them. They were then exerciſing on the parade; but were ſoon made ſenſible of their fatal miſtake by a cloſe diſcharge from their ſuppoſed friends, by which many were killed and wounded. The ſurpriſe occaſioned by this ſudden attack was ſo great, that no reſiſtance could be made; eſpecially as their commanding officer, Colonel Cockburn, who happened at that inſtant to come upon the parade, was made priſoner. A number of them, however, haſtened to the fort with a view of making head againſt the enemy; but the French had already taken poſſeſſion of the gate, and prevented the draw-bridge from being raiſed. They entered the fort; which, being ſurrendered by thoſe who had taken ſhelter in it, the reſt of the garriſon, diſperſed in various places, and imagining the number of the enemy to be much greater than it really was, ſubmitted without any oppoſition. The French commander took this opportunity of ſhowing his diſintereſtedneſs in pecuniary matters. Among the ſpoils that fell into his hands, a large ſum of money was claimed by the Britiſh commanding officer as being his private property, and it was generouſly reſtored to him; in like manner the property of the Dutch inhabitants was reſerved to them, and nothing was allowed to be ſeized but the produce ariſing from the ſale of prizes that had been taken by the Engliſh when they captured the iſland.

In America, at the beginning of the year 1781, an affair happened from which expectations were formed by Sir Henry Clinton, that ſome conſiderable advantage might be derived to the royal cauſe. The long continuance of the war, and the difficulties under which the congreſs laboured, had prevented their troops from being properly ſupplied with neceſſaries and conveniences. In conſequence of this, on the 1ſt of January, the American troops that were hutted at Morris-town, and who formed what was called the *Pennſylvanian line*, turned out, being in number about 1300, and declared that they would ſerve no longer unleſs their grievances were redreſſed, as they had not received their pay, nor been furniſhed with the neceſſary clothing or proviſions. It is ſaid they were ſomewhat inflamed with liquor, in conſequence of rum having been diſtributed to them more liberally than uſual, New-year's day being conſidered as a kind of feſtival. A riot enſued, in which an officer was killed, and four wounded; five or ſix of the inſurgents were alſo wounded. They then collected the artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and waggons, and marched out of the camp. They paſſed by the quarters of General Wayne, who ſent a meſſage to them, requeſting them to deſiſt, or the conſequences would prove fatal. They refuſed, and proceeded on their march till the evening, when they took poſt on an advantageous piece of ground, and elected officers from among themſelves. On the ſecond, they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third to Prince-town, where they fixed their quarters. On that day a flag of truce was ſent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a meſſage, deſiring to know what were their intentions. Some of them anſwered, that they had already ſerved longer than the time for which they were enliſted, and would ſerve no longer; and others, that they would not return unleſs their grievances were redreſſed. But at the ſame time they repeatedly, and in the ſtrongeſt terms, denied being influenced by the leaſt diſaffection to the American cauſe, or having any intention of deſerting to the enemy.

Intelligence of this tranſaction was ſoon conveyed to New York. A large body of Britiſh troops were immediately ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs to move on the ſhorteſt notice, it being hoped that the American revolters might be induced to join the royal army. Meſſengers were alſo ſent to them from General Clinton, acquainting them that they ſhould directly be taken under the protection of the Britiſh government; that they ſhould have a free pardon for all former offences; and that the pay due to them from the congreſs ſhould be faithfully paid them, without any expectation of military ſervice, unleſs it ſhould be voluntary, upon condition of their laying down their arms and returning to their allegiance. It was alſo recommended to them to move beyond the South River; and they were aſſured, that a body of the Britiſh troops ſhould be ready to protect them whenever they deſired it. Theſe propoſitions were rejected with diſdain; and they even delivered up two of Sir Henry Clinton's meſſengers to the congreſs. Joſeph Reed, Eſq. preſident of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, afterwards repaired to them at Prince-town, and an accommodation took place; ſuch of them as had ſerved out their full term, were permitted to return to their homes, and others again joined the American army, upon receiving ſatisfactory aſſurances that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed.

Earl Cornwallis now made vigorous preparations to penetrate into North Carolina. On the 11th of January his lordſhip's army was in motion; but was ſomewhat delayed by an attempt made by the Americans, under General Morgan, to make themſelves maſters of the valuable diſtrict of Ninety-ſix. To prevent this, Lord Cornwallis detached Colonel Tarleton, with 300 cavalry, 300 light infantry, the ſeventh regiment, the firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, and two three-pounders, to oppoſe the progreſs of Morgan, not doubting but that he would be able to perform this ſervice effectually. The Britiſh troops came up with the Americans on the 17th of January, at a place called the *Cow-pens*. They were drawn up in an open wood, and, having been lately joined by ſome militia, were more numerous than the Britiſh; but the latter were ſo much better diſciplined, that they had the utmoſt confidence of obtaining a ſpeedy victory. The attack was begun by the firſt line of infantry, conſiſting of the ſeventh regiment and a corps of light infantry, with a troop of cavalry placed on each flank. The firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt and the remainder of the cavalry formed the reſerve. The American line ſoon gave way, and their militia quitted the field; upon which the royal troops, ſuppoſing the victory already gained, engaged with ardour in the purſuit, and were thereby thrown into ſome diſorder. General Morgan's corps, who were ſuppoſed to have been routed, immediately faced about, and began a heavy fire upon the king's troops, which occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion amongſt them; and they were at length totally defeated by the Americans. Four hundred of the Britiſh infantry were either killed, wounded, or taken priſoners: the loſs of the cavalry was much leſs conſiderable; but the two three-pounders fell into the hands of the Americans, together with the colours of the ſeventh regiment. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton gallantly made another effort; having aſſembled about fifty of his cavalry, with which he charged and repulſed Colonel Waſhington's horſe, retook his baggage, and killed the Americans who were appointed to guard it. He then retreated to Hamilton's Ford, near the mouth of Bullock's Creek, carrying with him part of the baggage, and deſtroying the remainder.

This defeat was a ſevere ſtroke to Lord Cornwallis, as the loſs of his light infantry was a great diſadvantage to him. The day after that event, he employed in collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps, and in endeavouring to form a junction with General Leſlie, who had been ordered to march towards him with ſome Britiſh troops from Wynneſborough. Conſiderable exertions were then made by part of the army, without baggage, to retake the priſoners in the hands of the Americans, and to intercept General Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that officer had made forced marches up the country, and croſſed the Catawba the evening before a great rain, which ſwelled the river to ſuch a degree, as to prevent the royal army from croſſing for ſeveral days; by which time the Britiſh priſoners were got quite out of reach.

On the firſt of February, the king's troops croſſed the Catabaw at M'Cowan's Ford, where General Davidſon, with a party of the American militia, was ordered to oppoſe their paſſage; but, that officer being killed by the firſt diſcharge, the royal troops made good their landing, and the militia retreated. When Lord Cornwallis arrived at Hillſborough, he erected the king's ſtandard, and invited, by proclamation, all loyal ſubjects to repair to it, and to ſtand forth and take an active part in aſſiſting his lordſhip to reſtore order and government. He had been taught to believe that the king's friends were numerous in that part of the country: but the event did not confirm the truth of the repreſentations that had been made. The royaliſts were but few in number, and ſome of them too timid to join the king's ſtandard. There were, indeed, about 200 who were proceeding to Hillſborough, under Colonel Pyle, in order to avow their attachment to the royal cauſe; but they were met accidentally, and ſurrounded, by a detachment from the American army, by whom a number of them are ſaid to have been killed when they were begging for quarter, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Meanwhile General Greene was marching with great expedition to form a junction with another corps of American troops, in order to put a ſtop to the progreſs of Lord Cornwallis.

In other places conſiderable advantages were obtained by the royal arms. On the 4th of January, ſome ſhips of war, with a number of tranſports, onboard which was a large body of troops under the command of General Arnold, arrived at Weſtover, about 140 miles from the Capes of Virginia, where the troops immediately landed and marched to Richmond; which they reached without oppoſition, the provincials having retreated on their approach. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe marched from hence with a detachment of the Britiſh troops at Weſtham, where he deſtroyed one of the fineſt founderies for cannon in America, and a large quantity of ſtores and ammunition. General Arnold, on his arrival at Richmond, found large quantities of ſalt, rum, ſail-cloth, tobacco, and other merchandiſe; and that part which was public property he deſtroyed. The Britiſh troops afterwards attacked and diſperſed ſome ſmall parties of the Americans, took ſome ſtores, and a few pieces of cannon; and, on the 20th of the ſame month, marched into Portſmouth. On the 25th, Captain Barclay, with ſeveral ſhips of war, and a body of troops under the command of Major Craig, arrived in Cape

Fear river. The troops landed about nine miles from Wilmington, and on the 28th entered that town. It was underſtood, that their having poſſeſſion of that town, and being maſters of Cape Fear river, would be productive of very beneficial effects to Lord Cornwallis's army.

General Greene, having effected a junction, about the 10th of March, with a continental regiment, and two large bodies of militia, reſolved to attack the Britiſh troops under Lord Cornwallis. The American army marched from the High Rock Ford on the 12th of the month, and on the 14th arrived at *Guildford.* Lord Cornwallis, from the information he had received of the motions of the American general, concluded what were his deſigns. As they approached more nearly to each other, a few ſkirmiſhes enſued between ſome advanced parties, in which the king's troops had the advantage. On the morning of the 15th, Lord Cornwallis marched at day-break to meet the Americans, or to attack them in their camp. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard of the Britiſh army, commanded by Colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the Americans, conſiſting of Colonel Lee's legion, which he defeated.

The greater part of the country in which the action happened is a wilderneſs, with a few cleared fields interſperſed. The American army, which was ſuperior to the Britiſh in point of numbers, was poſted on a riſing ground. It was drawn up in three lines: the front line was compoſed of the North Carolina militia, under the command of Generals Butler and Eaton; the ſecond line was of Virginia militia, commanded by Generals Stephens and Lawſon, forming two brigades; the third line, conſiſting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland continental troops, was commanded by General Hugar and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, with the dragoons of the firſt and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry compoſed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen under Colonel Lynch, formed a corps of obſervation for the ſecurity of their right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of obſervation for the ſecurity of their left flank. The attack was made by Lord Cornwallis, in the following order: on the right, the regiment of Boſe and the ſeventy-firſt regiment, led by Major-general Leſlie, and ſupported by the firſt battalion of guards; on the left, the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by Lieutenant-colonel Webſter, and ſupported by the grenadiers and ſecond battalion of guards commanded by General O'Hara; the yagers and light infantry of the guards remained in a wood, on the left of the guns, and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumſtances might require.

About half an hour after one in the afternoon, the action commenced by a cannonade, which laſted about twenty minutes; when the Britiſh troops advanced in three columns, and attacked the North Carolina brigade with great vigour, and ſoon obliged part of theſe troops, who behaved very ill, to quit the field: but the Virginia militia kept up a heavy fire for a long time, till, being beaten back, the action became general every where. The American corps, under Colonels Waſhington and Lee, did conſiderable execution. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without poſitive orders, excepting to protect any of the corps from the moſt evident danger of being defeated. The exceſſive thickneſs of the woods rendered the Britiſh bayonets of little uſe, and enabled the broken corps of Americans to make frequent ſtands with an irregular fire. The ſecond battalion of the guards firſt gained the clear ground near Guildford court-houſe, and found a corps of continental infantry, ſuperior in number, formed in an open field on the left of the road. Deſirous of ſignalizing themſelves, they immediately attacked and ſoon defeated them, taking two ſix-pounders; but, as they purſued the Americans into the wood with too much ardour, they were thrown into confuſion, and inſtantly charged and driven back into the field by Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington's dragoons, with the loſs of the ſix-pounders they had taken. But the American cavalry were in turn repulſed, and the two ſix-pounders again fell into the hands of the Britiſh troops. The ſpirited exertions of General O'Hara and Colonel Tarleton contributed to bring the action to a termination. The Britiſh troops, having at length broken the ſecond Maryland regiment, and turned the left flank of the Americans, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appeared to be gaining their right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, when General Greene thought it prudent to retreat. Many of the American militia diſperſed in the woods; but the continental troops fell back in good order to the Reedy Fork river, and croſſed at the ford, about three miles from the field of action. When they had collected their ſtragglers, they retreated to the iron-works, ten miles diſtant from Guildford, where they encamped. They loſt their artillery, and two waggons laden with ammunition. It was a hard-fought battle, and laſted an hour and an half. Of the Britiſh troops, the loſs, as ſtated by Lord Cornwallis, was 532 killed, wounded, and miſſing. General Greene, in his account of the action tranſmitted to the congreſs, ſtated the loſs of the continental troops to be 329 killed, wounded, and miſſing: but he made no eſtimate of the loſs of the militia. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart was killed in the action; and Lieutenant-colonel Webſter, and Captains Schutz, Maynard, and Goodriche, died of their wounds. General O'Hara, General Howard, and Colonel Tarleton, were alſo wounded. Of the Americans, the principal officer killed was Major Anderſon, of the Maryland line; and General Stephens and Huger were wounded.

The Britiſh troops underwent great hardſhips in the courſe of this campaign; and in a letter from Lord Cornwallis to Lord George Germaine, dated March 17th, he obſerved, that "the ſoldiers had been two days without bread." His lordſhip quitted Guildford three days after the battle; and, on the 7th of April, arrived at Wilmington. General Greene, notwithſtanding his late defeat, endeavoured to make ſome freſh attempts againſt the king's forces in South Carolina. Lord Rawdon had been appointed to defend the poſt of *Camden*, with about eight hundred Britiſh; and, on the 19th of April, General Greene appeared before that place with a large body of continentals and militia. He found it impoſſible to ſtorm the town with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and therefore endeavoured to take ſuch a poſition as ſhould induce the Britiſh troops to ſally forth from their works. He poſted the Americans about a mile from the town, on an eminence which was covered with woods, and flanked on the left by an impaſſable ſwamp. On the morning of the 25th, Lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and with great gallantry attacked General Greene in his camp. The Americans made a vigorous reſiſtance, but were at laſt compelled to give way, and the purſuit is ſaid to have been continued three miles. The loſs of the Engliſh was about one hundred killed and wounded. Upwards of one hundred of the Americans were taken priſoners; and, according to the account publiſhed by General Greene, they had one hundred and twenty-ſix killed and wounded.

Notwithſtanding the advantage which Lord Rawdon had obtained, he ſoon found it neceſſary to quit his poſt; and the Americans made themſelves maſters of ſeveral other poſts that were occupied by the king's troops, and the garriſons were made priſoners of war. Theſe were afterwards exchanged under a cartel which took place between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene, for the releaſe of all priſoners in the ſouthern diſtrict. After this, General Greene laid ſiege to Ninety-ſix, which was the moſt commanding and important of all the poſts in the back-ſettlements; and, on the 19th of June, he attempted to ſtorm the garriſon, but was repulſed by the Britiſh troops, with the loſs of ſeventy-five killed and one hundred and fifty wounded. General Greene then raiſed the ſiege, and retired behind the Saluda, to a ſtrong ſituation within ſixteen miles of Ninety-ſix.

On the 18th of April, a large body of Britiſh troops, under the command of General Philips and Arnold, embarked at Portſmouth, in Virginia, on an expedition for the purpoſe of deſtroying ſome of the American ſtores. A party of light-infantry were ſent ten miles up the Chickahomany; where they deſtroyed ſeveral armed ſhips, ſundry warehouſes, and the American ſhip-yards. At Peterſburgh, they deſtroyed four thouſand hogſheads of tobacco, one ſhip, and a number of ſmall veſſels on the ſtocks and in the river. At Cheſterfield, they burnt a range of barracks for two thouſand men, and three hundred barrels of flour. At a place called Oſborn's, they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral veſſels loaded with cordage and flour, and deſtroyed two thouſand hogſheads of tobacco, and ſundry veſſels were ſunk and burnt. At Warwick, they burnt five hundred barrels of flour, ſome mills belonging to Colonel Carey, a large range of public rope-walks and ſtore-houſes, tan and bark houſes, full of hides and bark, and great quantities of tobacco. A like deſtruction of ſtores and goods was made in other parts of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis, after his victory over General Greene, at Guildford, proceeded, as we have ſeen, to

Wilmington; and, on the 20th of May, arrived at Peterſburg, in Virginia, where he joined the Britiſh troops that had been under the command of Philips and Arnold. Before this junction, he had encountered conſiderable inconveniences from the difficulty of procuring proviſions and forage; ſo that, in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he informed him, that his cavalry wanted every thing; and his infantry every thing but ſhoes. He added, that he had experienced the diſtreſſes of marching hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hoſtile, without one active or uſeful friend, without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country.

On the 26th of June, about ſix miles from *Williamſburgh*, Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, and three hundred and fifty of the queen's rangers, with eighty mounted yagers, were attacked by a much ſuperior body of the Americans; but whom they repulſed with great gallantry and with equal ſucceſs, making four officers and twenty private men priſoners. The loſs of the Americans in this action is ſaid to have been upwards of one hundred and twenty, and that of the Britiſh troops not more than forty. On the 6th of July, another action happened near the *Green Springs*, in Virginia, between a reconnoitring party of the Americans, under General Wayne, amounting to about eight hundred, and a large part of the Britiſh army, under Lord Cornwallis; in which, the Americans had 127 killed and wounded; and the loſs of the royal troops is ſuppoſed to have been conſiderably greater. It was an action in which no ſmall degree of military ſkill and courage was exhibited by the Americans. In a variety of ſkirmiſhes, the Marquis la Fayette very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and diſplayed the utmoſt ardour in the American cauſe.

Notwithſtanding the ſignal advantages Lord Cornwallis had obtained, his ſituation in Virginia began to be very critical; and the rather, becauſe he did not receive thoſe reinforcements from Sir Henry Clinton which he conceived to be neceſſary for the ſucceſs of his operations. Indeed, the commander in chief was prevented from ſending thoſe reinforcements, by his fears reſpecting New York, againſt which he entertained apprehenſions that General Waſhington intended to make a formidable attack. In fact, the American general appears to have taken much pains, and have employed great fineſſe, to lead Sir Henry Clinton into this imagination. Letters, expreſſive of this intention, fell into the hands of Sir Henry, which were manifeſtly written to be intercepted, with a view to amuſe and deceive the Britiſh general. The project was ſucceſsful; and, by a variety of manœuvres, in which he completely out-generalled the Britiſh commanders, he increaſed his apprehenſions about New York, and prevented him from ſending proper aſſiſtance to Lord Cornwallis.

Having thus kept Sir Henry Clinton in perpetual alarm, General Waſhington ſuddenly quitted his camp at White Plains, croſſed the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, with a deſign to attack Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton now received information, that the Count de Graſſe, with a large French fleet, was expected every moment in the Cheſapeak, to co-operate with General Waſhington. He therefore endeavoured to communicate this information to Lord Cornwallis; and alſo ſent him aſſurances, that he would either reinforce him by every poſſible means, or make the beſt diverſion he could in his favour. In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis had taken poſſeſſion of the poſts of York-town and Glouceſter, in Virginia, where he fortified himſelf in the beſt manner he could.

On the 28th of Auguſt, Sir Samuel Hood, with a ſquadron from the Weſt Indies, joined the fleet under Admiral Graves, before New York. It was then neceſſary, on account of the ſituation of Lord Cornwallis,

wallis, that they ſhould immediately proceed to the Cheſapeak; but much time appears to have been loſt, though Admiral Hood was extremely anxious that no delay might be made. They arrived in the Cheſapeak on the 5th of September, with nineteen ſhips of the line; where they found the Count de Graſſe, who had come to an anchor, on the 30th of Auguſt, with twenty-four ſhips of the line. The French admiral had previouſly landed a large body of troops, which had marched to join the American army under Waſhington.

The Britiſh and French fleets came to an action on the ſame day in which the former arrived in the Cheſapeak. On-board the Britiſh fleet, ninety were killed and 246 wounded; ſome of the ſhips were greatly damaged in the engagement, and the Terrible, a ſeventy-four-gun ſhip, was ſo much ſhattered, that it was afterwards found neceſſary to ſet her on fire. That this action was not favourable to the Engliſh, was manifeſt from the event: the fleets continued in ſight of each other for five days ſucceſſively, and ſometimes were very near; but at length the French all anchored within the Cape, ſo as to block up the paſſage. Admiral Graves then called a council of war, in which it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould return to New York, that the ſhips might be put into the beſt ſtate for the ſervice: and thus were the French left maſters of the Cheſapeak.

Before the news of this engagement had reached New York, a council of war had been held, in which it was reſolved, that five thouſand men ſhould be embarked on-board the king's ſhips, in order to proceed to the aſſiſtance of Lord Cornwallis. But, when it was known that the French were abſolute maſters of the navigation of the Cheſapeak, it was thought inexpedient to ſend off that reinforcement. In another council of war, it was reſolved, that, as Lord Cornwallis had proviſions to laſt him to the end of October,

ber, it was adviſeable to wait for more favourable accounts from Admiral Graves, or for the arrival of Admiral Digby, who was expected with three ſhips of the line.

In the mean time, the moſt effectual meaſures were taken by General Waſhington, for ſurrounding the army under Lord Cornwallis. A large body of French troops, under the command of Count Rochambeau, with a conſiderable train of artillery, aſſiſted in the enterpriſe. The Americans amounted to near eight thouſand continentals, and five thouſand militia. General Waſhington was commander in chief of the combined forces of America and France. On the 29th of September, the inveſtment of York-town was complete, and the Britiſh army were quite blocked up. The day following, Sir Henry Clinton wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis, containing aſſurances that he would do every thing in his power to relieve him. A duplicate of this letter was ſent to his lordſhip by Major Cochran, on the 3d of October. That gentleman, who was a very gallant officer, went in a veſſel to the Capes, and made his way to Lord Cornwallis, undiſcovered, through the whole French fleet, in an open boat. He got to York-town on the 10th of the month; and, ſoon after his arrival, had his head carried off by a cannon-ball.

After the return of Admiral Graves to New York, a council of war was held, in which it was reſolved, that a large body of troops ſhould be embarked on-board the king's ſhips as ſoon as they were refitted; and, that the exertions of both fleet and army ſhould be made in order to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton himſelf embarked on-board the fleet, with upwards of ſeven thouſand troops, on the 18th; they arrived off Cape Charles, at the entrance of the Cheſapeak, on the 24th, where they received the mortifying intelligence, that Lord Cornwallis had been obliged to capitulate five days before.

It was on the 19th of October, 1781, that Lord Cornwallis ſurrendered himſelf and his whole army priſoners of war, to the combined armies of America and France. He made a defence ſuitable to the character he had before acquired for courage and military ſkill; but was compelled to ſubmit to untoward circumſtances and ſuperior numbers. It was agreed by the articles of capitulation, that the Britiſh troops were to be priſoners to the United States of America, and the ſeamen to the French king, to whoſe officers alſo the Britiſh veſſels found at York-town and Glouceſter were to be delivered up. The Britiſh priſoners amounted to more than 6,000; but many of them, at the time of ſurrender, were incapable of duty. A conſiderable number of cannon, and a large quantity of military ſtores, fell into the hands of the Americans on this occaſion. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refuſed to General Lincoln on his giving up Charleſtown, was now refuſed to Lord Cornwallis; and General Lincoln was appointed to receive the ſubmiſſion of the army of York-town, preciſely in the ſame way his own had been conducted eighteen months before.

As no rational expectation now remained of a ſubjugation of the colonies, the military operations that ſucceeded in America were of little conſequence. On the 5th of May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York, being appointed to the command of the Britiſh troops in America, in the room of Sir Henry Clinton. Two days after his arrival, he wrote to General Waſhington, acquainting him, that Admiral Digby was joined with himſelf in a commiſſion to treat of peace with the people of America; tranſmitting to him, at the ſame time, ſome papers, tending to manifeſt the pacific diſpoſition of the government and people of Britain towards thoſe of America. He alſo deſired a paſſport for Mr. Morgan, who was appointed to tranſmit a ſimilar letter of compliment to the congreſs. General Waſhington declined ſigning any paſſport till he had taken the opinion of congreſs upon that meaſure; and by them he was directed to refuſe any paſſport for ſuch a purpoſe. However, another letter was ſent to General Waſhington, dated the 2d of Auguſt, and ſigned by Sir Guy Carleton and Rear-admiral Digby, in which they informed him, that they were acquainted by authority, that negociations for a general peace had already commenced at Paris; that Mr. Grenville was inveſted with full powers to treat with all the parties at war, and was then at Paris in the execution of his commiſſion. They farther informed him, that his majeſty, in order to remove all obſtacles to that peace which he ſo ardently wiſhed to reſtore, had commanded his miniſters to acknowledge the independency of the thirteen provinces in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of making it the condition of a general treaty. But ſome jealouſies were ſtill entertained, that it was the deſign of the Britiſh court either to diſunite them, or to bring them to treat of a peace ſeparately from their ally the King of France: they therefore reſolved, that any man, or body of men, who ſhould preſume to make any ſeparate or partial convention or agreement with the King of Great Britain, or with any commiſſioner or commiſſioners under the crown of Great Britain, ought to be conſidered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States of America; and alſo that thoſe ſtates could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain, unleſs they ſhould as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe, in poſitive or expreſs terms, acknowledge the independence of the ſaid ſtates. They likewiſe reſolved, that any propoſitions which might be made by the court of Great Britain, in any manner tending to violate the treaty ſubſiſting between them and the King of France, ought to be treated with every mark of indignity and contempt.

The moſt ſatisfactory aſſurances, however, on the part of the Britiſh chiefs, having been laid before congreſs, an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities took place; and, on the 30th of November following, the proviſional articles of peace and reconciliation between England and America were ſigned at Paris, by which Great Britain ſolemnly acknowledged the independence and ſovereignty of the United States. Theſe articles were ratified by a definitive treaty, September 3, 1783. This peace was negociated on the part of Great Britain by Mr. Oſwald, and the definitive treaty was ſigned by Mr. Hartley; and on the part of the United States by John Adams, and John Jay Eſqres. and Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Holland acknowledged the independence of the United States of America on the 19th day of April, 1782; Sweden, the 5th of February; Denmark, the 25th of February; Spain in March, and Ruſſia in July, 1783.

Thus ended that long and arduous conflict, in which Great Britain expended near an hundred millions of money, with an hundred thouſand lives, and won nothing; and in which America patiently endured every diſtreſs; loſt an infinite number of lives, and much treaſure; but eventually delivered herſelf from a foreign dominion, and gained a name among the nations of the earth.

Upon taking leave of the American colonies as a part of the Britiſh empire, and viewing them now as a great and independent ſtate, it may not be amiſs to ſay a few words upon the extent of their territory, and the conſtitution they have adopted.

By the definitive treaty of peace between the King of Great Britain and the United States of America, the boundaries of theſe ſtates are fixed to extend on the north from Nova Scotia, acroſs the four great lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, aſſigning to the ſtates the ſouthern half of each, and in the latter the iſlands Royal and Phillippeaux; lake Michigan they poſſeſs entire: though theſe lakes have ever been conſidered as making a part of Canada, and no new regulation of limits has excluded them. This boundary is farther extended through the centre of the Lake of the Woods to its moſt weſtern point. It may be ſuppoſed that a want of acquaintance with the geography of the country has cauſed it to be added "from thence on a due weſt courſe to the river Miſſiſſippi;" for if the boundary is carried due weſt, it will reach the Pacific Ocean about one degree of latitude ſouth of Nootka Sound. The line, in order to touch the Miſſiſſippi, ſhould have been carried from the weſtern ſide of the Lake of the Woods due ſouth. In conſequence of this inaccuracy, no boundary is ſettled throughout a ſpace of near three degrees of latitude; it being reſumed along the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi to thirty-one degrees north latitude, where that river begins to divide Weſt Florida from Louiſiana. The American States are bounded on the ſouth by the two Floridas. They poſſeſs all the eaſtern coaſt from the mouth of the river St. Croix, in the bay of Fundy, to St. Mary's River, which divides Georgia from Eaſt Florida, and all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores.

The ſtates with whom the King of Great Britain concluded this treaty were, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's Bay, Rhode Iſland with Providence Plantation, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

Theſe ſtates, in their fulleſt extent, compriſe eighteen degrees of latitude, and thirty-three degrees of longitude; they are deſcribed as being 1250 miles in length, and 1040 in breadth: reaching from thirty-one degrees to forty-nine degrees north latitude, and from fifty-one degrees to eighty-four degrees weſt longitude from Greenwich; but, as the Americans had fixed their meridian at the city of Philadelphia, the extent in longitude from that city is, from nine degrees eaſt to twenty-four degrees weſt.

Although the longitudinal extent is laid down to be nearly double to the latitudinal, yet the limits are ſo interſected on the northward, that toward the north-weſt coaſt it lies in forty-five degrees, except a ſmall diſtrict of land, which reaches to almoſt forty-ſeven degrees; but, in the interior country, on Lake Erie, the boundary is on forty-two degrees: its greateſt extent is on the coaſt, toward the north-eaſt, where only it is forty-nine degrees. Its longitudinal extent, from New England on the eaſt, to a little below Nootka Sound on the weſt, comprehends the whole continental breadth, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; and it is only in that part that its breadth is 1040 miles.

This republican government retains much of the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution; and thoſe two eſſential ſecurities to individuals in their perſons and their property, the habeas corpus act and trial by jury, are retained. It unites the American States in a much cloſer confederation than the Helvetic union brought the Swiſs Cantons, or even than the compact entered into by the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands placed the Dutch. Indeed, in many important points, it is ſuch a form of government as the world had not before ſeen. The moſt effectual meaſures ſeem to have been taken to remove what was formerly a fruitful ſource of animoſity and diſſenſion among the colonies, the undefined bounds of their reſpective territories, as every ſtate has now renounced all right of deciding upon their claims, and has agreed that they ſhall be laid before congreſs, and decided upon by that aſſembly as a court of judicature. In this new form of government the ſeveral independent ſtates may be ſaid to have delegated to congreſs all the functions of government, except retaining their interior conſtitution, but deprived of the power of levying duties on merchandize, of equipping ſhips of war, of making foreign alliances, or waging war; for, as the preamble to the conſtitution expreſſes it, in the federal government of theſe ſtates, "it is impoſſible to ſecure all right of independent ſovereignty to each, and yet provide for the intereſt and ſafety of all."

The preſident of the congreſs, the ſenate, and repreſentatives, form a legiſlative body ſomewhat ſimilar to the king, lords, and commons, of Great Britain, in that every act of congreſs muſt have a majority of votes in the two houſes, and receive the aſſent of the preſident, before it can paſs into a law; but the American conſtitution differs in many particulars; the preſident of the congreſs has not a power abſolutely to negative any bill, he can only refuſe his aſſent, and at the ſame time is required to aſſign the reaſons on which he founds his refuſal; the buſineſs is then to undergo a freſh diſcuſſion in both houſes, and the bill muſt be paſſed by two-thirds of the members of each houſe, which then conſtitutes it a law without the concurrence of the preſident.

No ſpecific portion of property, whether real or perſonal, is required to be poſſeſſed as a qualification either for a repreſentative, a ſenator, the vice-preſident, or the preſident. Nor is any one excluded on account of the religious principles which he profeſſes, whatever they may be; ſo that Jews or Roman Catholics are as eligible as any other citizens. The houſe of repreſentatives is choſen every two years, by the people of the ſeveral ſtates. The only legal requiſites in a candidate are his having attained to twenty-five years of age; having been ſeven years a cititizen of the United States; and, at the time of his election, an inhabitant of the ſtate by which he is choſen; the holding of any place of honour, truſt, or emolument, is an abſolute diſqualification. In this repreſentation there is no diſtinction of knights, citizens, and burgeſſes; it not being made out of counties, cities, and borough-towns; for the excluſive rights and peculiar privileges of corporations are entirely unknown here. The deſign of the conſtitution is, that the number of repreſentatives in congreſs ſhall not exceed one repreſentative for every 30,000, but that each ſtate ſhall have at leaſt one repreſentative.

The American States in their houſe of commons are not repreſented by above one-third of the number by which the people of Great Britain are repreſented in their houſe, calculating upon the ſuppoſed population of each country. The ſenate of the United States, which may be conſidered as the upper houſe of parliament, is compoſed of two ſenators from each ſtate, choſen, not from the people at large, but from the legiſlature thereof. No one can be choſen a ſenator who has not attained to thirty years of age, who has not been nine years a citizen, and is not a reſident in the ſtate where he is choſen: he cannot hold any place of honour, truſt, or profit. Theſe ſenators, when aſſembled, are divided into three claſſes; thoſe in the firſt claſs vacate their ſeats at the expiration of the ſecond year: thoſe of the ſecond claſs at the end of the fourth year; and of the third claſs, at the expiration of the ſixth year.

The preſident of the United States, in whom is veſted the executive power, and who muſt not be under thirty-five years of age, is choſen by the nomination of each ſtate, who for this purpoſe names two, and the perſon upon whom the largeſt number of ſuffrages falls obtains this diſtinguiſhed rank, which is held for four years. In like manner the vice-preſident is to be elected, and for the ſame term. The latter is preſident of the ſenate. The preſident, vice-preſident, ſenate, and repreſentatives, are paid for their ſervices at a rate ſettled by law, and out of the treaſury of the United States.

The ſalaries paid to the great officers who conduct the affairs of government are,—The preſident of the congreſs, and commander in chief of the military and naval forces, 25,000 dollars, (5,300l. ſterling.) Vice-preſident, and preſident of the ſenate, 5,000 dollars, (1,060l.) The ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives, twelve dollars per diem during his attendance, (2l. 11s.) The members of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, ſix dollars, (1l. 5s. 6d.) for every day's attendance, as well as for every twenty miles travelling to and from the ſeat of government. The ſecretary of the ſenate and clerk of the houſe of repreſentatives, each 1,500 dollars, (320l.) The chief juſtice of the ſupreme court, 4,000 dollars, (850l.) The four aſſociated juſtices, 3,500 dollars each per ann.

The preſident, by virtue of his office, is commander in chief of the army and navy, and of the militia of the ſeveral ſtates, when called into the actual ſervice of the union. He has power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences againſt the United States, except in caſes of impeachment. With the advice and conſent of the ſenate, he has the power to make treaties, but the concurrence of two-thirds of the ſenators preſent is neceſſary to render ſuch an act valid. He nominates, and, with the advice and conſent of the ſenate, appoints ambaſſadors, conſuls, judges of the ſupreme court, and all other officers of the United States, not otherwiſe appointed by the conſtitution. He may, on extraordinary occaſions, convene both houſes, or either of them; and, in caſe of diſagreement between them with reſpect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to ſuch time as he ſhall think proper. He receives ambaſſadors, and other public miniſters, and is empowered to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

The congreſs has the power to impoſe and collect taxes, duties, impoſts, and exciſes, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the community; but all duties, impoſts, and exciſes, are to be uniform throughout the United States. To borrow money on the public credit. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, alſo among the ſeveral ſtates, and with the Indian tribes. To coin money, to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin; and to fix the ſtandard of weights and meaſures. To conſtitute tribunals inferior to the ſupreme court. To declare war, grant letters of marque and repriſal. To raiſe and ſupport armies; but no appropriation of money to that uſe can be for a longer term than to two years. To provide and maintain a navy. To provide for, call forth, arm, and diſcipline, the militia: each ſtate to appoint the officers of their militia, and to poſſeſs the authority of training them, according to the diſcipline preſcribed by congreſs. All bills for raiſing a revenue to originate in the houſe of repreſentatives. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* ſhall not be ſuſpended, unleſs when, in caſes of rebellion or invaſion, the public ſafety may require it. No money ſhall be drawn from the treaſury but in conſequence of appropriations made by law, and a regular ſtatement and account of the receipts and expenditure of all public money ſhall be publiſhed from time to time. No title of nobility ſhall be granted by the United States; and no perſon holding any office of profit or truſt under them ſhall, without the conſent of the congreſs, accept of any preſent, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign ſtate. Each particular ſtate is, by this confederation, forbidden to enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but gold and ſilver coin a tender in payment of debts, or grant any title of nobility. No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of the congreſs, lay any impoſts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be abſolutely neceſſary for executing its inſpection laws;

whilſt the nett produce of ſuch duties ſhall be for the uſe of the general treaſury, and ſubject to the reviſion and controul of congreſs.

We have now to relate the remaining events which brought about a *general peace*. The Britiſh nation experienced another loſs on the American continent in the early part of the campaign of 1781. Don Galvez, of whoſe ſucceſsful expedition, in the year 1779, againſt the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi, ſome notice has been already taken, made farther advances into Weſt Florida the following year, and being at length reinforced by a powerful fleet and army from the Havannah, completed the conqueſt of the whole province by the reduction of Penſacola on the 8th of May. General Campbell, the governor, acquired no ſmall reputation, even in misfortune, by his judicious and ſpirited defence of the place for two months, with a motley aſſemblage of Britiſh ſoldiers, royaliſts, Germans, ſailors, and negroes, making in all nine hundred and fifty men, againſt a fleet of fifteen ſail of the line, and a land force almoſt ten times the number of the garriſon.

The grand fleet, on its departure from England for the relief of Gibraltar, was accompanied by a ſmall ſquadron under the command of Commodore Johnſtone, late one of the commiſſioners to America, but now appointed to conduct an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. The court of Verſailles, knowing the preſent inability of the States General to protect their foreign dominions, ſent a ſuperior ſquadron under M. Suffrein to counteract the deſigns of the Engliſh; and coming up with them at Port Praya, in the iſland of St. Jago, the French admiral made no ſcruple to violate the neutrality of the Portugueſe flag, by attacking the ſquadron of Commodore Johnſtone, while it lay in the harbour, diſperſed and unſuſpicious of danger. Britiſh valour was eminently diſplayed in repelling the attack, under every diſadvantage of number, ſituation, and ſurpriſe; and the French were beaten off, after ſuffering ſeverely in the conflict; but immediately proceeeding to the Cape, they ſecured that ſettlement from any hoſtile attempt. Though the main object of Commodore Johnſtone's expedition was thus defeated, he ſucceeded in the capture of five very valuable Dutch Eaſt Indiamen, with which he returned to Europe, a part of his ſquadron and a convoy of tranſports and merchant ſhips, which were deſtined for the Eaſt Indies, having proſecuted their voyage thither.

Suffrein's timely arrival at the Cape was certainly the means of preſerving that place, in itſelf incapable of any vigorous reſiſtance; but the French admiral did not reach the Eaſt Indies ſoon enough to afford the like protection to the Dutch ſettlements there, or to ſave Hyder Ally's marine from deſtruction. While Sir Eyre Coote was attacking Hyder with equal vigour and ſucceſs by land, Sir Edward Hughes not only blocked up his ports on the Malabar coaſt, but deſtroyed his ſhipping at Calicut and Mangalore, two of his principal arſenals, on which all his hopes of becoming a maritime power were founded.

By theſe ſucceſſes the preſidency of Madras were now allowed ſo much reſpite, that an enterpriſe was planned againſt the Dutch ſettlement of Negapatam, ſituated to the ſouth of Madras, and in the neighbourhood of Tanjour. A very inconſiderable force, however, could yet be ſpared for this purpoſe, as Hyder Ali, though ſo often defeated, was ſtill extremely formidable. Sir Hector Munro had the management of the expedition: and ſo furious was the attack of the Britiſh ſailors, that the troops left to guard the avenues to the place were defeated at the very firſt onſet. A regular ſiege enſued; which, however, was of very ſhort duration, a breach being ſoon made, and the garriſon ſurrendering priſoners of war.

The loſs of Negapatam was quickly followed by that of Trincomale. Admiral Hughes who had conveyed Sir Hector Munro with the land-forces to that place, and aſſiſted him with his ſailors, immediately after its ſurrender ſet ſail for Trincomale, where he arrived about the middle of January 1782. The fort of that name was quickly reduced; but the main ſtrength of the ſettlement conſiſted in a fort named Oſtenburgh, the principal place on the iſland, and by the capture of which the whole ſettlement would be reduced. This fort ſtands on a hill which commands the harbour, but is itſelf overlooked by another hill at the diſtance of no more than two hundred yards. Though the gaining of this poſt was undoubtedly to be attended with the loſs of the fort, it does not appear that the governor even attempted to defend it. A Britiſh detachment of ſailors and marines therefore took poſſeſſion of it, when the admiral ſent a ſummons of ſurrender, repreſenting the inutility of making any farther defence after the loſs of ſuch a poſt; and, being extremely deſirous of avoiding an effuſion of blood, repeated his arguments at ſeveral different times. The governor, however, proving obſtinate, the place was taken by ſtorm, with the loſs of about ſixty on the part of the Britiſh, and very little on that of the Dutch, the victors giving quarter the moment it was aſked. Four hundred Europeans were taken priſoners; a large quantity of ammunition and military ſtores, with a numerous artillery, were found in the place; and two Indiamen richly laden, with a number of ſmall trading veſſels, were taken in the harbour.

A more formidable enemy, however, now made his appearance on the coaſt of Coromandel. This was Suffrein the French admiral; who, ſetting out from his native country with eleven ſhips of the line and ſeveral ſtout frigates, had fallen in with the Hannibal of 50 guns, and taken her when ſeparated from her conſorts. This ſhip, along with three others, a 74, a 64, and a 50, had been ſent out to the aſſiſtance of Sir Edward Hughes, and the three laſt had the good fortune to join him before the arrival of Suffrein. The latter, ſuppoſing that he had not yet received this reinforcement, bore down upon the Engliſh ſquadron at Madras, to which place they had ſailed immediately after the capture of Trincomale. Perceiving his miſtake, however, he inſtantly bore away. The Engliſh admiral purſued, took ſix veſſels, five of them Engliſh prizes, and the ſixth a valuable tranſport laden with gunpowder and other military ſtores, beſides having on-board a number of land officers and about 300 regular troops. This brought on an engagement, in which M. Suffrein, perceiving the rear diviſion of the Britiſh fleet unable to keep up with the reſt, directed his force principally againſt it. The ſhips of Admiral Hughes himſelf and Commodore King ſuſtained the moſt violent efforts of the French, having moſtly two, and ſometimes three, veſſels to contend with. Thus the commodore's ſhip was reduced almoſt to a wreck; but about ſix in the evening, the wind becoming more favourable to the Engliſh, the ſquadron of the enemy were obliged to draw off. The loſs of men on the part of the Britiſh amounted to little more than 130 killed and wounded, but that of the French exceeded 250.

After the battle Sir Edward returned to Madras; but meeting with no intelligence of Suffrein at that place, he made the beſt of his way for Trincomale, being apprehenſive of an attack upon that place, or of the intercepting of a convoy of ſtores and reinforcements at that time expected from England. Suffrein had indeed got intelligence of this convoy, and was at that time on his way to intercept it. This brought the hoſtile fleets again in ſight of each other; and as the Britiſh admiral had been reinforced by two ſhips of the line, he was now better able to encounter his adverſary. A deſperate battle enſued, which continued till towards night, when the ſhips on both ſides were ſo much ſhattered, that neither could renew the engagement next day.

Though theſe engagements produced nothing deciſive, they were nevertheleſs of the utmoſt prejudice to the affairs of Hyder Ali, who was thus prevented from receiving the ſuccours he had been promiſed from France; and he was ſtill farther mortified by the defeat of his forces before Tellicherry, which place he had blocked up ſince the commencement of hoſtilities. This laſt misfortune was the more ſenſibly felt, as an open paſſage was now left for the Engliſh into thoſe countries beſt affected to Hyder. His bad ſucceſs here, however, was in ſome meaſure compenſated by the entire defeat of a detachment of about 2000 Engliſh infantry and 300 cavalry under Colonel Braithwaite, a brave and experienced officer. This detachment, conſiſting of choſen troops from Sir Eyre Coote's army, lay encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, which forms the northern boundary of Tanjour. Tippoo Saib, the intrepid ſon of Hyder, having procured exact intelligence of the ſituation of this party, formed a deſign of attacking it while no danger was ſuſpected on account of the diſtance of Hyder Ali's army. He ſet out on this deſign with an army of 15,000 horſe and 5000 foot, accompanied by a body of French regulars; and having croſſed the Coleroon, ſuddenly ſurrounded the Britiſh forces on all ſides. The colonel, perceiving his danger, formed his men into a ſquare, diſtributing the artillery to the ſeveral fronts, and keeping his cavalry in the centre. In this ſituation he reſiſted for three days the utmoſt efforts of his numerous enemies, always compelling them to retreat with great loſs. At laſt General Lally, rightly conjecturing that the ſtrength of the Engliſh muſt be exhauſted and their numbers thinned by ſuch deſperate ſervice, propoſed that the French infantry, which was freſh and entire, ſhould attack one of the fronts of the ſquare, while the forces of Tippoo ſhould do the ſame with the other three. This laſt attack proved ſucceſsful; the Britiſh forces were broken with great ſlaughter, which however was ſtopped by the humanity of the French commander; who even obtained from Tippoo Saib the care of the priſoners, and treated them with a tenderneſs and humanity they certainly would not otherwiſe have experienced. A number of Britiſh officers, however, periſhed in the engagement, and only one remained unwounded.

In the mean time, the ſuccours from France, ſo long expected by Hyder, made their appearance. As ſoon as a junction was formed, they proceeded, under the command of M. Duchemin, to inveſt Cuddalore; which not being in any ſituation to ſtand a ſiege, was ſurrendered on capitulation. In like manner ſome other places of ſmaller conſequence were reduced, until at laſt, being joined by Hyder's numerous forces, they determined to lay ſiege to Vandervaſh, a place of great importance, and the loſs of which would have been extremely detrimental to the Engliſh. This quickly brought Sir Eyre Coote with his army to its relief; but Hyder Ali, notwithſtanding his being reinforced by the French, durſt not yet venture a battle in the open field. On this the Britiſh commander proceeded to attack Arnee, the principal depoſit of Hyder's warlike ſtores and neceſſaries. Thus the latter was obliged to quit his advantageous ground; but he did ſo with ſuch ſecrecy and ſpeed, that he came upon the Britiſh army unawares while preparing for its laſt march to Arnee, now only five miles diſtant. Perceiving that the march of the Britiſh troops was through low grounds, encompaſſed on moſt parts with high hills, he planted his cannon upon the latter; from which he kept a continual and heavy fire on the troops below, while his numerous cavalry attacked them on every ſide. Notwithſtanding all diſadvantages, the Britiſh commander at laſt cloſed in with the enemy; and after an obſtinate diſpute completely routed them. Neither this, however, nor any other engagement with Hyder Ali, ever proved deciſive; for as the want of cavalry prevented the Britiſh general from purſuing his advantage, ſo that of his antagoniſt was ſo numerous, that by it he always covered his retreats in ſuch an effectual manner as to loſe but few men, and in a ſhort time to be in a condition to act again on the offenſive. This was remarkably the caſe at preſent; for notwithſtanding this defeat, which happened on the 2d of June 1782, he cut off an advanced body of the Britiſh army five days after; and haraſſed the whole in ſuch a manner, that Sir Eyre Coote, notwithſtanding his ſucceſs, was forced to move nearer Madras; ſoon after which, he was obliged, on account of his bad ſtate of health, to relinquiſh the command of the army to General Stuart.

Hyder Ali now perceiving that he was likely to be attended with no ſucceſs by land, began to reſt his hopes on the ſucceſs of the French by ſea. He therefore earneſtly requeſted M. Suffrein, who poſſeſſed at that time a deciſive ſuperiority in the number of ſhips, to loſe no time in attacking the Britiſh ſquadron before it could be joined by a reinforcement which was then on its way, and was reported to be very formidable. As the French commander was by no means deficient in courage, a third engagement took place on the 5th of July 1783. At this time the Britiſh had the advantage of the wind, the battle was much more cloſe, and the victory more plainly on their ſide. It is ſaid, indeed, that, had not the wind fortunately ſhifted in ſuch a manner as to enable the French to diſengage their ſhips, a total and ruinous defeat would have enſued. After the engagement, the French admiral proceeded to Cuddalore, having received intelligence that a large body of French troops in tranſports was arrived off the iſland of Ceylon, in company with three ſhips of the line. As this ſeemed to afford hopes of retaliation, he uſed ſuch diligence in refitting his ſhips, that the fleet was able to put to ſea in the beginning of Auguſt. His intention was to make an attempt on Trincomale; and ſo well were his deſigns conducted, that Sir Edward received no intelligence of the danger, till a Britiſh frigate chaſing a French one, which took ſhelter with the ſquadron at Trincomale, diſcovered it by this accident, and haſtened back with the news to Madras. It was now, however, too late; the place was not in a condition to reſiſt a ſiege; and the French batteries having ſilenced thoſe of the fort in two days, a capitulation took place on the laſt day of Auguſt.

Sir Edward Hughes, having been detained by contrary winds, did not arrive at Trincomale before the 2d of September, when he had the mortification to ſee the forts in the hands of the French, and that Suffrein was in the harbour with fifteen ſail of the line, while he had only twelve. He did not heſitate at venturing an engagement with this inferiority, nor did M. Suffrein decline the combat. The event of the battle was no other than ſhattering the fleets and killing and wounding a number of men on both ſides. In this, however, as well as in the other engagements, the ſuperiority of the Engliſh was very manifeſt; and in entering the harbour of Trincomale the French loſt a 74-gun ſhip.

The loſs of Trincomale was ſeverely felt by the Engliſh; for while the French lay ſafely in the harbour refitting their ſquadron, the Engliſh were obliged for that purpoſe to ſail to Madras. Here the fleet was aſſailed by one of the moſt dreadful tempeſts ever known on that coaſt. Trading veſſels to the number of near 100 were wrecked, as well as thoſe for Madras laden with rice, of which there was an extreme ſcarcity at that place. Thus the ſcarcity was augmented to a famine, which carried off vaſt numbers of the inhabitants before ſupplies could arrive from Bengal. The continuance of the bad weather obliged Sir Edward with his whole ſquadron to ſail to Bombay; and there he did not arrive till towards the end of the year, when his ſquadron was ſo much ſhattered, that, in order, to repair it with proper expedition, he was obliged to diſtribute it between the dock-yards of Bombay and the Portugeſe ſettlement at Goa.

In the mean time Sir Richard Bickerton arrived at Bombay from England with five men of war, having on board 5000 troops, after a very ſavourable paſſage; having neither ſeen nor heard of the bad weather which had deſolated the coaſts of India. It was likewiſe the intention of France to ſignalize the campaign of this year by an immenſe force both by ſea and land in India. Excluſive of the forces already on the coaſt of Coromandel, they were to be joined by 5000 more, all regulars, from their iſlands on the African coaſt. Suffrein was to be reinforced by ſeveral ſhips of the line, when it was hoped that a decided ſuperiority at ſea would be obtained over the Engliſh; while their ſuperior numbers and artillery on ſhore would render them invincible by any force that could be brought againſt them. To oppoſe theſe deſigns it was deemed neceſſary by the preſidency of Bombay to make a powerful diverſion on the coaſt of Malabar. Here was ſituated the kingdom of Myſore, the ſovereignty of which had been uſurped by Hyder Ali under the title of *Dayva*, as that of the Mahrattas was by a perſon ſtyled *Paiſhwa*. This kingdom is nearly in the ſame parallel with Arcot. To the northward is the kingdom of Canara, which is ſaid to have been the favourite poſſeſſion of Hyder Ali; the name of its capital is Bidnore, which alſo gives name to an extenſive territory, and was by Hyder changed to that of Hydernagur. The expedition had been ſet on foot as early as the end of the year 1781; a ſtrong body of forces under the command of Colonel Humberſtone had taken the two cities of Calicut and Panyan, beſides others of leſſer note, and penetrated into the inland country, which is there difficult and dangerous. Having here made himſelf maſter of a place called *Mongarry Cotta*, of which the ſituation commanded the entrance into the inner parts of the country, he proceeded to attack Palatacherry, a conſiderable town at ſome miles diſtance; but being ſuddenly environed with a numerous and hoſtile army, inſtead of making himſelf maſter of the place, it was not without the utmoſt difficulty that he made his eſcape after loſing all his proviſions and baggage. A great army, conſiſting of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horſe, under Tippoo Saib, alſo advanced againſt him with ſuch celerity, that the colonel had only time to retreat to Panyan, where he was ſuperſeded in the command by Colonel Macleod, and ſoon after the place was inveſted by the forces of the enemy, among whom was General Lally with a conſiderable body of French. Two Britiſh frigates, however, having come to the aſſiſtance of the place, rendered all the attempts of the enemy to reduce it abortive. At laſt, Tippoo Saib, impatient of delay, made a vigorous effort againſt the Britiſh lines; but though both the Indian and French commanders behaved with great bravery, the attack not only proved unſucceſsful, but they were repulſed with ſuch loſs as determined Tippoo to abandon the ſiege of the place, and retire beyond the river of Panyan.

As ſoon as the preſidency of Bombay were acquainted with the ſucceſs of Colonel Humberſtone, General Matthews was diſpatched to his aſſiſtance with a powerful reinforcement. This expedition, which began the campaign of 1783 in the kingdom of Canara, has been related with circumſtances ſo diſgraceful, and ſo exceedingly contrary to the behaviour for which the Britiſh troops are remarkable, that we are totally at a loſs to account for them. On the one hand, it ſeems ſurpriſing how the national character could be forfeited by a particular body, and not by any other part of the army; and on the other, it ſeems equally ſurpriſing why ſuch calumnies (if we ſuppoſe them to be ſo) ſhould have ariſen againſt this particular body and no other part of the army. Such accounts of it, however, were publiſhed as raiſed the indignation of the military gentlemen, who thought proper to publiſh a vindication of themſelves. In the Annual Regiſters, from whence, next to the Gazettes and News-papers, the generality receive what they look upon to be authentic intelligence, the character of this army is treated with the higheſt aſperity. "In the ſtory of the conqueſt and recovery of Canara (ſays the New Annual Regiſter), the Spaniards may be ſaid to be brought a ſecond time upon the ſcene, but not to ſit down in ſullen and inſolent proſperity after all their crimes. The Spaniards of Britain were overtaken in the midſt of their career; and he who is more of a man than an Engliſhman, will rejoice in the irregular and unmeaſured, but at the ſame time the juſt and merited, vengeance that was inflicted upon them by the prince whoſe dominions they were ravaging!" In ſupport of this dreadful exclamation the following account is given of the expedition. It began with the putting in execution a deſign formed by General Matthews of carrying the war into the heart of Hyder Ali's dominions. For this purpoſe the Engliſh inveſted the city of Onore, ſituated about 300 miles to the ſouth of Bombay, and one of the principal places in the country of Canara. "It was taken by aſſault (ſays Dr. Andrews) with great ſlaughter, and plundered with circumſtances of avarice and rapine that diſgraced the victors; among whom at the ſame time, great diſcontents aroſe concerning the diviſion of the ſpoil." "No quarter (ſays the Annual Regiſter) was given by the victorious Engliſh; every man they met was put to the ſword. Upon this occaſion we beg leave to tranſcribe three lines from the private letter of one of the officers concerned in the expedition. ‘ The carnage (ſays he) was great: we trampled thick on the bodies that were ſtrewed in the way. It was rather ſhocking to humanity; but ſuch are only ſecondary conſiderations, and to a ſoldier, whoſe boſom glows with heroic glory, they are thought only accidents of courſe; his zeal makes him aſpire after farther victory.’ This part of the peninſula had hitherto been untouched by the barbarous and unſparing hands of Europeans, and of conſequence was full of riches and ſplendour. In the fortreſs of Onore were found ſums of money to an unknown amount, beſides jewels and diamonds. A conſiderable part of this appears to have been ſecured as private plunder by General Matthews. The complaints of the military were loud; they thought, and naturally, that the acquiſition of riches was the fair and reaſonable conſequence of the perpetration of bloodſhed. But their commander turned a deaf ear to their repreſentations; and haſtened, by adding new laurels to his fame, to hide the ſlander that might otherwiſe reſt upon him.”

From Onore the army proceeded to the neareſt fortreſſes on the ſea coaſt, More and Cundapour. Here they were joined by a reinforcement from Bombay under the command of Colonels Macleod and Humberſtone, with poſitive orders to proceed for Bidnore or Hydernagur the capital of Canara. On this General Matthews marched for the mountains called the *Ghauts*, where there is a paſs three miles in length, though only eight feet wide, and which was then ſtrongly fortified and defended by a vaſt number of the natives. “ The Engliſh (ſay our authors), however, had already obtained a conſiderable reputation by their executions; and the uſe of the bayonet, the moſt fatal inſtrument of war, and which was employed by them on all occaſions, created ſuch and extreme terror in the enemy, as to enable them to ſurmount this otherwiſe impregnable defile.”

The gaining of this paſs laid open the way to Bidnore the capital, to which a ſummons was now ſent. An anſwer was returned, that the place was ready to ſubmit, provided the inhabitants were not moleſted, and the governor was permitted to ſecure his property. The wealth of this city was undoubtedly great, but the eſtimates of its amount are very different. By the accounts of Bombay it was ſtated only at 175,000l. while the officers concerned in the expedition ſay that it was not leſs than 1,200,000l. or even 1,920,000l.: and even this was only public property; that ſeized upon by the ſoldiers, and which belonged to private perſons, was undoubtedly very conſiderable alſo.

This treaſure was at firſt ſhown by the general to his officers, and declared to belong to the army; but he afterwards told them that it was all the property of the Mahommedan governor, and had been ſecured to him by the terms of the ſurrender. It was therefore ſent to Cundapour under the convoy of Lieutenant Matthews, brother to the general, to be thence tranſmitted to Bombay; but whether any part of it ever reached that ſettlement or not was never known. The diſcontents of the army were now carried to the utmoſt height; and the conteſt became ſo ſerious, that Colonels Macleod, Humberſtone, and Shaw, quitted the ſervice altogether, and returned to Bombay. The officers charged their general with the moſt inſatiable and ſhameful avarice; while he, in return, accuſed his whole army of doing every thing diſreſpectful and injurious to him; of paying no regard to order and diſcipline, and of becoming looſe and unfeeling as the moſt licentious freebooters.

From Bidnore detachments were ſent to reduce ſeveral fortreſſes, the principal of which was Ananpour or Anantpore. Here orders were iſſued for a ſtorm and no quarter. Every man in the place was put to death, except one horſeman who made his eſcape after being wounded in three places. "The women, unwilling

willing to be ſeparated from their relations, or expoſed to the brutal licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, threw themſelves in multitudes into the moats with which the fort was ſurrounded. Four hundred beautiful women, pierced with the bayonet, and expiring in one another's arms, were in this ſituation treated by the Britiſh, with every kind of outrage."

This exploit was ſucceeded by the reduction of Carwa and Mangalore, which completed the reduction of Canara, when General Matthews put his army in cantonments for the rainy ſeaſon.

This rapid ſucceſs was owing to the death of Hyder Ali, which happened in the end of the year 1782. His ſon Tippoo Saib, however, having taken poſſeſſion of the government, and ſettled his affairs as well as time would allow, inſtantly reſumed his military operations. On the 7th of April 1783 he made his appearance before Bidnore, ſo that General Matthews had ſcarce time to collect a force of 2000 men, and to write to Bombay for a reinforcement. But, however neceſſary the latter muſt have been in his circumſtances, the preſidency were ſo much prejudiced againſt him by the unfavourable reports of his officers, that they ſuſpended him from his commiſſion, appointing Colonel Macleod to ſucceed to the command of the army.

Tippoo Saib now advanced with a vaſt army, ſuppoſed not to be fewer than 150,000 men, covering the hills on each ſide of the metropolis as far as the eye could reach. The army of General Matthews, altogether unable to cope with ſuch a force, were quickly driven from the town, and forced to take refuge in the citadel. Tippoo, having cut off their retreat by gaining poſſeſſion of the Ghauts, laid cloſe ſiege to the fortreſs; which in leſs than a fortnight was obliged to capitulate. The terms propoſed were, that all public property ſhould remain in the fort; that the Engliſh ſhould engage not to act againſt Tippoo for a ſtipulated time; that they ſhould march out with the honours of war; that they ſhould pile their arms, and have full liberty to proceed unmoleſted with their private property to the ſea coaſt, from thence to embark for Bombay; and in this capitulation the garriſons of Annanpour and other inland fortreſſes were alſo included.

All theſe terms were broken by Tippoo, who ſaid that they had forfeited their title to liberty by a breach of the articles of capitulation, in embezzling and ſecreting the public money, which was all, in good faith, to be delivered up. That this was really the caſe ſeems to be univerſally acknowledged. In the Annual Regiſter we are told, that "to prevent too much money being found in the poſſeſſion of one man, the general ordered his officers to draw on the paymaſter-general for whatever ſums they wanted. When the fort was ſurrendered to the ſultan, there was not a ſingle rupee found in it." By this circumſtance the fate of the garriſon was decided. General Matthews was ſent for next morning to a conference. He was not, however, admitted to his preſence, but immediately thrown into chains. Moſt of the other principal officers were, on various pretences, ſeparated from the army. The general and his companions were conducted to Seringapatam the capital of Myſore; and after having experienced a variety of ſeverities, were at laſt put to death by poiſon. In this manner the general and 20 officers periſhed. The poiſon adminiſtered was the milk of the cocoa-tree, which is ſaid to be very deadly.

The above account was repeatedly complained of as partial, and at laſt openly contradicted in a pamphlet intitled, "A Vindication of the Conduct of the Engliſh Forces" employed in that expedition, and publiſhed by order of the Eaſt India Company. In this pamphlet the circumſtance moſt found fault with was that regarding the women at Anantpore, which was poſitively contradicted. On this account therefore the publiſhers of the above-mentioned work retract that part of their narrative, as being founded in miſrepreſentation. Notwithſtanding this vindication, however, they ſtill draw the following concluſions: "It is already ſufficiently evident, how little has been effected by this vindication of the Bombay officers. The great outlines of the expedition remain unaltered. It is ſtill true that a remarkable degree of ſeverity was employed in the field; that, in the capture of the fortreſſes of Canara, the principle of a ſtorm and no quarter was very frequently applied; and that the acquiſition of money was too much the governing object in every ſtage of the undertaking. The vindication of the officers has therefore done them little ſervice; and it happens here, as it generally does in the caſe of an imperfect reply, that the majority of the facts are rather ſtrengthened and demonſtrated by the attempt to refute them. With reſpect to the concluſion of the ſtory, the treaſures of Hydernagur, and the charge brought againſt them by Tippoo, that they had broken the terms of the capitulation, and that when the fort was ſurrendered not a rupee was to be found in it; theſe circumſtances are paſſed over by the officers in the profoundeſt ſilence. It was this that rouſed the ſultan to vengeance; and it is to this that he appeals for his juſtification in diſregarding a capitulation which had been firſt diſſolved by the vanquiſhed Engliſh."

The vindication above alluded to was ſigned by one major and 52 ſubaltern officers. It ſeems not, however, to have given entire ſatisfaction to the military gentlemen themſelves, as other vindications have appeared ſaid to be written by officers; but theſe being anonymous, can be ſuppoſed to add very little weight to that already mentioned, where ſuch a reſpectable body have ſigned their names. We ſhall therefore drop a ſubject ſo diſagreeable, and the inveſtigation of which at the ſame time is entirely foreign to the plan of this work.

It now remains to give ſome account of the war with the Mahrattas, begun, as was formerly hinted, on account of the protection afforded to the aſſaſſin Roganaut-row. This man had formerly obliged the Mogul to take ſhelter in the Engliſh factory at Bengal; but being unable to keep up his credit among his countrymen, was expelled. On his arrival at Bombay, an alliance was formed betwixt him and the Engliſh government; by which the latter engaged to replace him in the Mahratta regency in conſideration of ſome valuable ceſſions of territory. The ſupreme council of Bengal, however, diſowned this treaty, and concluded one with the Mahrattas in the month of March 1776; by which it was agreed that they ſhould provide for Ragobah's ſubſiſtence according to his rank, on condition of his reſiding in their country. This being not at all agreeable to Ragobah, he fled once more to Bombay, where a new confederacy was entered into for his reſtoration. The council of Bengal approved of this on account of the approaching rupture with France; and in conſequence of this, a detachment was, in February 1778, ordered to march acroſs the continent of India. By ſome miſmanagements in this expedition, the whole army was obliged to capitulate with the Mahratta general on the 9th of January 1779. One of the terms of the capitulation was, that a body of troops which were advancing on the other ſide ſhould be obliged to return to Bengal. But General Goddard, the commander of theſe forces, denying the right of the council of Bengal to remand him, proceeded on his march, and arrived on the 18th of February. Here he received orders to conclude a new treaty, if it could be obtained on eaſier terms than that of the capitulation by which it had been engaged to cede all our acquiſitions in the country of the Maharattas.

Such extreme diſregard to any ſtipulations that could be made, undoubtedly provoked the Mahrattas,

tas, and induced them to join in the confederacy with Hyder Ali already mentioned. The war, however, was ſucceſsfully begun by General Goddard in January 1780. In three months he reduced the whole province of Guzerat. Madajee Sindia the Mahratta general advanced to oppoſe him; but as he did not chooſe to venture a battle, the Engliſh general ſtormed his camp, and totally routed him. Other exploits were performed in the courſe of this campaign; during which the governor-general (Mr Haſtings), ſeeing no hopes of an accomodation, entered into a treaty with the rajah of Gohud, and with his conſent Major Popham reduced a fortreſs in his dominions named *Gaullior*, garriſoned by the Mahrattas, and hitherto reckoned impregnable.

Theſe ſucceſſes were followed by the dreadful incurſions of Hyder Ali already related, which put a ſtop to the conqueſts of General Goddard; all the forces he could ſpare being required to aſſiſt the army under Sir Eyre Coote. The laſt exploit of General Goddard was the reduction of the iſland of Salſette, and of a ſtrong fortreſs named *Baſſein* in its neighbourhood. The army of Sindia, conſiſting of 30,000 men, was alſo defeated this year by Colonel Carnac; and the Mahrattas, diſheartened by their loſſes, conſented to a ſeparate peace with the Engliſh, leaving Hyder Ali to manage the war as he thought proper.

In the mean, time, however, the expences incurred by theſe wars were ſo high, that Mr. Haſtings, who was obliged to furniſh them ſome how or other, was reduced to the greateſt difficulties. For this purpoſe not only all the treaſure of Bengal was exhauſted, but it was found neceſſary to draw extraordinary contributions from the Britiſh allies, which was productive of many diſagreeable circumſtances. One of the moſt remarkable was the revolt of Benares. The rajah of this country had formerly put himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh, who on their part agreed to ſecure his dominions to him on condition of his paying an annual ſubſidy to the nabob of Oude. In 1770 the rajah died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Cheit Sing, who held the ſovereignty at the time we ſpeak of. On the death of the nabob in 1775, a new treaty was made with his ſucceſſor, by which the ſovereignty of Benares was transferred to the Eaſt-India company, an acquiſition equivalent to 240,000l. per annum; at the ſame time that the ſubſidy paid by Suja Dowla, and which, by Lord Clive, had been fixed at 36,000l. and afterwards raiſed to 252,000l. was now augmented to 312,000l. per annum.

On receiving intelligence in July 1778, that war had actually commenced between France and England, Cheit Sing was required to pay 50,000l. as his ſhare of the public burdens. Such a demand was paid with extreme reluctance on the part of a prince who already contributed 240,000l. and probably thought that an abundant equivalent for the protection enjoyed. The ſame requiſition, however, was made the two ſucceeding years, but with a promiſe that the demand ſhould ceaſe when peace was reſtored. Inſtead of any preſent alleviation, however, a body of troops was alſo quartered upon him, and he was likewiſe obliged to pay for their maintenance, leſt he ſhould not voluntarily pay the additional 50,000l. In November 1780, in addition to all theſe demands, he was alſo required to ſend into the field ſuch a body of horſe as he could ſpare; but this requiſition, owing to ſome miſunderſtanding, was never complied with.

In July 1781 Mr Haſtings having, it is ſaid, received ſome intelligence that the oppreſſed rajah meditated rebellion, ſet out on a viſit to the nabob of Oude, and in his way propoſed to *clear up the miſunderſtanding* with him. The method by which he intended to *clear up this miſunderſtanding* was to lay a fine upon the poor prince of 400,000l. or 500,000l.; and as a reaſon for doing ſo, it was alleged that the late rajah had left a million ſterling in his treaſury; a ſum which was continually increaſing. Cheit Sing, advanced to the borders of his territories to meet the governor-general, behaved with all imaginable ſubmiſſion; and having got private intelligence of what was meditated againſt him, offered to pay down 200,000l. This was refuſed; and the governor-general having reached the capital, forbade the rajah his preſence, and by a letter acquainted him with his cauſes of complaint. Cheit Sing ſent a very ſubmiſſive anſwer; but as he endeavoured to exculpate himſelf, Mr Haſtings was ſo far from being ſatisfied, that he put the prince under an arreſt.

Such an unheard of proceeding excited the utmoſt ſurpriſe and reſentment in ſubjects accuſtomed to regard their ſovereign with a degree of reverence little ſhort of adoration. On the very day of the arreſt they aſſembled tumultuouſly, cut in pieces the guard which had been ſet on the palace, and carried off their prince in triumph. It does not appear, however, that this was any other than a tranſitory tumult; for though they could eaſily have cut off the governor-general, they made no attempt againſt him. Cheit Sing proteſted his innocence, and made the moſt unlimited offers of ſubmiſſion, but all in vain. His government was declared vacant, and the zemindary beſtowed on the next heir; the annual ſubſidy to the government of Bengal was augmented from 240,000l. to 400,000l. annually. The miſerable rajah was forced to fly his country; and his mother, though promiſed leave to retire upon conditions, attacked in her retreat and plundered by the ſoldiers. After all his endeavours to procure money, however, Mr. Haſtings found this adventure turn out much leſs profitable than he had expected; for the treaſury of the fugitive prince was ſeized and retained by the ſoldiery.

As to the Nabob of Oude, a new treaty was concluded with him; the deſign of which was evidently to eaſe him of ſome of the burdens to which he was at that time ſubjected. Part of the Britiſh troops were therefore withdrawn from his dominions. As Fizulla Khan, the moſt proſperous of his dependents had been called upon to furniſh a body of 5000 horſe to join the nabob's army, and had not complied with the requiſition, the guarantee of his treaty with the nabob, formerly executed, was withdrawn; but it being afterwards diſcovered that his territory was not equivalent to the claims of the governor, the treaty was renewed on payment of a ſlight fine. As the widow of Sujah Dowla was ſuſpected of favouring the late rajah Cheit Sing, the reigning prince was allowed to reclaim the treaſures of his father in her poſſeſſion, and likewiſe to deprive her of a ſmall province ſhe had in poſſeſſion, on condition of paying her a certain ſtipulated allowance annually. The treaſures were ſeized as payment of the debts of the prince to the company.

Hoſtilities continued in India between the French and Engliſh till the year 1783 was far advanced, and long after tranquillity had been reſtored to other parts of the world. In the beginning of the ſeaſon for action the governor and council of Bengal determined to ſend an ample ſupply to the preſidency of Madras, that ſo they might be enabled to put an end to the war, which Tippoo ſeemed willing to proſecute with even more vigour than his father had done. For this purpoſe Sir Eyre Coote, who, for his health, had gone to Bengal by ſea, ſet ſail once more for Madras, being intruſted with a large ſum of money for the neceſſary expences of the war. In his paſſage he has chaced for 48 hours by two French men of war. The ſolicitude and fatigue he underwent during this time, being almoſt conſtantly upon deck, occaſioned a relapſe, ſo that he died in two days after his arrival at Madras. His death was greatly lamented, as the greateſt expectations had been formed of an happy concluſion being put to the war by his extraordinary military talents,

lents, for which he had already acquired ſo great reputation in India.

The invaſion of Tippoo's diminions having called him off from the Carnatic, General Stuart took the opportunity of attacking him in another quarter. Colonel Fullarton was diſpatched with a large body of troops to invade the province of Coimbatour. This he executed with great ſucceſs; over running the country, taking ſeveral fortreſſes, and making a very alarming diverſion on this ſide of Tippoo's dominions. General Stuart, however, having ſtill greater deſigns in view, was obliged to recal this gentleman in the midſt of his ſucceſs. The ſiege of the ſtrong fortreſs of Cuddalore was the operation which now engaged his attention. It was now become the principal place of arms belonging to the French; was ſtrongly fortified, and garriſoned by a numerous body of the beſt troops in France, as well as a conſiderable number of Tippoo's choiceſt forces. The ſiege therefore proved ſo difficult, that though the Engliſh diſplayed the utmoſt valour and military ſkill, they were not able to reduce the place until hoſtilities were interrupted by the news of a general pacification having taken place in Europe. In this ſiege a remarkable circumſtance took place, viz. that of a corps of ſepoy grenadiers encountering and overcoming the French troops oppoſed to them with fixed bayonets. For this remarkable inſtance of valour, they not only received the higheſt applauſe at the time, but proviſion was made for themſelves and families by the preſidencies to which they belonged.

After the reduction of Hydernagur, and the deſtruction of the army under General Matthews, the Engliſh poſſeſſed only three places of conſequence in the kingdom of Canara. Theſe were Mangalore, Onore, and Carwa. The ſiege of all theſe places was undertaken at once. Mangalore, the principal port in the country, was defended by a very numerous garriſon under Major Campbell. Tippoo ſat down before

fore it on the 19th of May; and the attack and defence were both conducted with the greateſt ſpirit and activity. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the beſiegers, however, and that the garriſon were redu-duced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, they held out in ſpite of every difficulty, until the general pacification being concluded, the place was afterwards delivered up. In other parts nothing more happened than an indeciſive engagement between M. Suffrein and Admiral Hughes; ſo that the Britiſh empire in Bengal was for that time fully eſtabliſhed.

If the Dutch were mortified by the ſeverity of their loſſes in both the Indies, they had almoſt as little cauſe to rejoice at the fruits of their treachery and ingratitude near home. Several of their merchantmen and ſingle ſhips were taken at the beginning of the rupture; but it ſtill appeared that they retained their ancient valour, and were in fact the moſt formidable naval enemies Britain had to contend with. By the month of Auguſt, 1781, they had equipped a conſiderable ſquadron, the command of which was given to Rear-admiral Zoutman. On the 5th of that month, this ſquadron fell in with the Britiſh fleet commanded by Admiral Hyde Parker off the Dogger-bank. The force commanded by the Dutch admiral conſiſted, according to their own account, of one of 74, one of 68, one of 64, three of 54, and one of 44, beſides frigates; but the Engliſh account repreſents the Dutch fleet as conſiſting of eight two-decked ſhips. No gun was fired on either ſide till they were within the diſtance of half muſket-ſhot. The action began about eight in the morning, and continued with an unceaſing fire for three hours and forty minutes. Both ſides fought with equal ardour, and little advantage was gained on either. When the heat of the action was over, both ſquadrons lay to a conſiderable time near each other, when the Dutch ſhips of war with their convoy bore away for the Texel; and the

Engliſh ſhips were all too much diſabled to follow them. A Dutch 74-gun ſhip ſunk ſoon after the action. On-board the Britiſh fleet 104 were killed and 339 wounded; and the loſs of the Dutch was probably greater. Admiral Zoutman, in the account of the engagement tranſmitted by him to the ſtadtholder, ſaid, that his men "fought like lions;" and it was ſaid by the Britiſh admiral, in the account ſent by him to the admiralty, that "his majeſty's officers and men behaved with great bravery, nor did the enemy ſhow leſs gallantry." The admiral of the Dutch fleet was promoted, honorary rewards were given to the principal officers, and two months pay to the men, for their behaviour in this action. When Admiral Parker's fleet arrived at the Nore, his majeſty, in order to teſtify his ſenſe of his merit, went on-board his ſhip, with the avowed deſign, as it is ſaid, of conferring on him the honour of knighthood; but this the admiral thought proper to decline; and it was generally ſuppoſed, that this veteran officer was much diſguſted that more ſhips had not been ſent to him, for which he had applied, and which he conceived might have been ſpared, and whereby he might have been enabled to obtain a complete victory.

An attempt made by Admiral Kempenfelt, with thirteen ſail of the line and four frigates, to intercept a French ſquadron and convoy carrying reinforcements to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, concluded the naval enterpriſes of this year. The Engliſh admiral fell in with the enemy on the 12th of December in a hard gale of wind, and ſucceeded in cutting off a part of the convoy; but was obliged to relinquiſh any farther deſign, on perceiving the enemy's force to conſiſt of nineteen ſail of heavy line of battle ſhips, beſides two more armed *en flute*. About twenty of the prizes arrived ſafe in England; and their importance, being all crouded with troops or heavy laden with ſtores and proviſions, ſerved to excite the diſſatisfaction of the public at the negligence of thoſe who had not ſupplied Kempenfelt with ſuch a force, as would have enabled him to take or deſtroy the whole French fleet and convoy.

Though Lord North and his colleagues ſtill preſerved a tone of firmneſs, and carried ſeveral queſtions of ſome moment relating to the eſtimates, the ſupplies, and the neceſſity of a new loan of thirteen millions and a half, with large majorities in the houſe of commons, yet it was eaſy to ſee that his power was tottering, and could not be of long continuance. In every debate introduced by the oppoſition for the avowed purpoſe of condemning the conduct of the war, the number of thoſe who voted for the exculpation of the miniſtry, decreaſed every day. A motion of cenſure on the firſt lord of the admiralty brought forward by Mr. Fox ſoon after the Chriſtmas receſs, was rejected by a majority of only 22; and even that majority did not continue, but was reduced to 19 on the renewal of the ſame motion in ſubſtance, though a little varied in form, on the 20th of February. At length on the 28th of March, 1782, the new arrangement was announced to the houſe, and to the public at large. The cabinet, formed under the auſpices of the Marquis of Rockingham, and including himſelf as firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, was compoſed of the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, who were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; Lord Camden preſident of the council; Duke of Grafton, privy ſeal; Lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Keppel, who was alſo created a viſcount, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; General Conway, commander in chief of the forces; Duke of Richmond, maſter-general of the ordnance; Lord Thurlow, who was continued in his office of lord high chancellor; and Mr. Dunning, created Baron Aſhburton, and made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter. The Duke of Portland ſucceeded Lord

Carliſle as lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke was conſtituted paymaſter of the forces; and Colonel Barré, treaſurer of the navy.

The firſt buſineſs of national importance, brought forward by the new miniſtry, was the repeal of an act paſſed in the reign of George I. for ſecuring the dependency of Ireland, againſt which the loudeſt and juſteſt clamours had been raiſed in that country. This repeal, which paſſed both houſes without oppoſition, was properly underſtood as a virtual renunciation of the claim of legiſlating for Ireland. The power of ſuppreſſing or altering bills in the privy council, and the perpetual mutiny bill, were the other grievances, of which the Iriſh had made ſome very urgent complaints. As theſe points lay between the parliament of Ireland and the king, they were aſſured, by the lord-lieutenant, of his majeſty's gracious intentions to give his aſſent to acts for aboliſhing the obnoxious power abovementioned, and for limiting the duration of the mutiny act to the term of two years. The Iriſh parliament and the whole nation were ſo highly gratified with the liberality of theſe conceſſions, that a vote of the houſe of commons in that kingdom paſſed unanimouſly for raiſing twenty thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the Britiſh navy.

While theſe ſteps were judiciouſly taken to ſoothe the diſcontents and remove the jealouſies of the people of Ireland, the new adminiſtration were not inattentive to the means of acquiring popularity at home. Bills for diſabling revenue-officers from voting at elections, and excluding contractors from the houſe of commons, which had been repeatedly negatived in the courſe of a few years, were now revived and paſſed with approbation and applauſe. Mr. Burke's reform bill was alſo brought forward a third time, in conſequence of a meſſage from the king, recommending the conſideration of an effectual plan of œconomy throughout all the branches of the public expenditure. By this bill, which now paſſed, though not without ſome warm oppoſition in the houſe of lords, the board of trade, the board of works, and the great wardrobe, were aboliſhed, together with the office of American ſecretary of ſtate, and many ſinecure appointments.

So far the new miniſtry, though compoſed of ſome diſſonant and jarring principles, had conducted public affairs with the appearance of perfect harmony; but the death of the Marquis of Rockingham on the 1ſt of July threw their whole ſyſtem into the utmoſt diſorder. On the day ſucceeding his deceaſe, the Earl of Shelburne was declared firſt lord of the treaſury. The acceptance of this high office, without any previous communication with his colleagues, was conſidered by the Rockingham party as equivalent to a declaration of political hoſtility on the part of Lord Shelburne. Mr. Fox immediately reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of the northern department; Lord John Cavendiſh his office as chancellor of the exchequer; the Duke of Portland his government of Ireland; a few others their ſeats at the boards of treaſury and admiralty; and Mr. Burke his poſt of paymaſter of the army. In conſequence of their reſignations, the ſeals of the ſouthern department were given to the Earl of Grantham, and of the northern to Mr. Thomas Townſhend, late ſecretary at war: Sir George Yonge ſucceeded Mr. Townſhend: Colonel Barré was made paymaſter of the forces; and Mr. Dundas was appointed in his room treaſurer of the navy: Lord Temple ſucceeded the Duke of Portland in the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; and Mr. William Pitt, ſecond ſon of the late Earl of Chatham, was conſtituted chancellor of the exchequer.

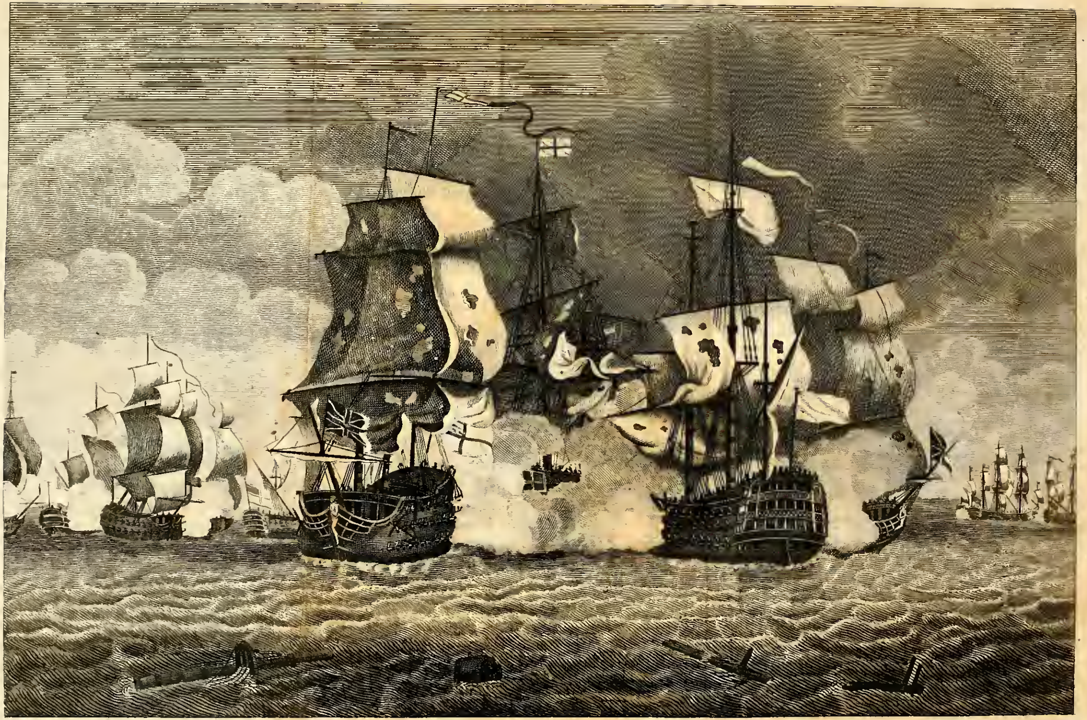
Intelligence arrived early in the ſpring, that General Murray, governor of Minorca, had been compelled, after a ſiege of one hundred and ſeventy-one days, to ſurrender that iſland to the arms of his Catholic majeſty, on the 8th of February. The news from the Weſt Indies were ſtill more pregnant with diſaſters. The ſuperiority of the French in that quarter enabled them to attempt, and to execute almoſt whatever they liked.—They recovered the Dutch ſettlements of Demerary and Eſſequibo in the firſt month of the year. The old and valuable iſland of St. Chriſtopher was doomed to be the next victim to the calamity of the times. A gallant attempt made by Admiral Hood for its relief, and the admirable bravery of the governor and garriſon proved ineffectual. The iſlands of Nevis and Montſerrat followed the fortune of St. Chriſtopher's, ſo that of all the former poſſeſſions of Great Britain in the Weſt Indies, none remained but Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua. The deſign againſt Jamaica, which had been often adopted, and as often laid aſide or deferred, was now revived with more vigour and greater confidence of ſucceſs than ever. The Spaniards had a powerful fleet and a great body of land-forces at Hiſpaniola and Cuba, who were furniſhed with abundant proviſion for war, and in readineſs to join the Count de Graſſe in the attack upon that iſland. The junction of the two fleets would have amounted to ſixty ſhips of the line, and their military force was no leſs formidable.

Sir George Rodney's arrival at Barbadoes with twelve ſail of the line on the 19th of February, and his ſubſequent junction with Sir Samual Hood's ſquadron, were fortunately decreed to break in upon the thread of this deſign againſt Jamacia. It was now the Count de Graſſe's intention to avoid fighting, by all poſſible means, until he could join the Spaniſh fleet at Hiſpaniola. With this view, the French left the harbour of Fort Royal at day-break on the 8th of April; and Rodney, who had the earlieſt intelligence of their movements, made the ſignal for a general chaſe. Early the next morning he came up with the enemy under Dominique, where the van of the Engliſh engaged the rear of the French; but the continued calms prevented a general or cloſe action. In the morning of the 11th a freſh gale ſprung up, and the chaſe was renewed; and towards evening the headmoſt ſhips of the van gained ſo much on one or two of the enemy's ſhips, damaged in the late action, that the Count de Graſſe thought it neceſſary to beat down for the purpoſe of protecting them. Sir George Rodney, who had eagerly watched and waited for this opportunity, now manœuvred the fleet with ſuch ſkill, as to gain the windward of the enemy during the night, and entirely to preclude their retreat. In this memorable action, which began next morning the 12th of April, the Britiſh fleet conſiſted of 36 ſhips of the line, and the French of 34, but higher rates with ſuperior weight of metal. The engagement commenced at ſeven o'clock in the morning, and continued with unremitting fury till half paſt ſix in the evening. It is ſaid, that no other ſignal was made by the admiral but the general one for action, and that for cloſe fight. Sir George Rodney was on-board the Formidable, a ſhip of 90 guns; and the Count de Graſſe was on-board the Ville de Paris, a ſhip of 110 guns, which was a preſent to the French king from the city of Paris. In the courſe of the action, the Formidable fired nearly eighty broadſides; and for three hours the admiral's ſhip was involved in ſo thick a cloud of ſmoke, that it was almoſt inviſible to the officers and men of the reſt of the fleet. The van diviſion of the Britiſh fleet was commanded by Sir Samual Hood, and the rear diviſion by Rear-admiral Drake; and both theſe officers greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this important action. But the deciſive turn on this memorable day was given by a bold manœuvre of the Formidable, which broke the French line, and threw them into confuſion. The firſt French ſhip that ſtruck was the Ceſar, a 74-gun ſhip, the captain of which fought nobly, and fell in the action. It is ſaid, that when ſhe ſtruck ſhe had not a foot of canvas without a ſhot-hole. Unfortunately,

Godefroy delint.

An exact Representation of the gloriou

calms prevented a general or cloſe action. In the morning of the 11th a freſh gale ſprung up, and the chaſe was renewed; and towards evening the headmoſt ſhips of the van gained ſo much on one or two of the enemy's ſhips, damaged in the late action, that the Count de Graſſe thought it neceſſary to beat down for the purpoſe of protecting them. Sir George Rodney, who had eagerly watched and waited for this opportunity, now manœuvred the fleet with ſuch ſkill, as to gain the windward of the enemy during the night, and entirely to preclude their retreat. In this memorable action, which began next morning the 12th of April, the Britiſh fleet conſiſted of 36 ſhips of the line, and the French of 34, but higher rates with ſuperior weight of metal. The engagement commenced at ſeven o'clock in the morning, and continued with unremitting fury till half paſt ſix in the evening. It is ſaid, that no other ſignal was made by the admiral but the general one for action, and that for cloſe fight. Sir George Rodney was on-board the Formidable, a ſhip of 90 guns; and the Count de Graſſe was on-board the Ville de Paris, a ſhip of 110 guns, which was a preſent to the French king from the city of Paris. In the courſe of the action, the Formidable fired nearly eighty broadſides; and for three hours the admiral's ſhip was involved in ſo thick a cloud of ſmoke, that it was almoſt inviſible to the officers and men of the reſt of the fleet. The van diviſion of the Britiſh fleet was commanded by Sir Samual Hood, and the rear diviſion by Rear-admiral Drake; and both theſe officers greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this important action. But the deciſive turn on this memorable day was given by a bold manœuvre of the Formidable, which broke the French line, and threw them into confuſion. The firſt French ſhip that ſtruck was the Ceſar, a 74-gun ſhip, the captain of which fought nobly, and fell in the action. It is ſaid, that when ſhe ſtruck ſhe had not a foot of canvas without a ſhot-hole. Unfortunately,



Godefroy delin!

J.Paſs sculpt

An exact Repreſentation of the glorious Defeat of the French Fleet under the Command of Admiral Count de Graſse, by Admiral Lord Rodney
on the 12th of April 1782.

Publish'd as the Act directs, Jan.y 1.1796.

tunately, ſoon after ſhe was taken poſſeſſion of, ſhe took fire by accident, and blew up, when about two-hundred Frenchmen periſhed in her, together with an Engliſh lieutenant and ten Engliſh ſeamen. But le Glorieux and le Hector, both 74 gun ſhips, were alſo taken by the Britiſh fleet; together with l'Ardent of 64 guns; and a French 74-gun ſhip was alſo ſunk in the engagement. It was a very cloſe and hard-fought action on both ſides, but the French fleet was at length totally defeated. It was almoſt dark when the Ville de Paris ſtruck, on-board which the Count de Graſſe had fought very gallantly. Five thouſand five hundred troops were on-board the French fleet, and the havock among theſe was very great, as well as among the French ſeamen. The Britiſh had 230 killed and 759 wounded. Captain Blair, who commanded the Anſon, and ſeveral other officers, were killed in the action; and Lord Robert Manners, who commanded the Reſolution, died of his wounds on his return home.

On the 19th of the ſame month, a ſquadron which was detached from the main fleet, under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, captured the Cato and the Jaſon, two French men of war of 64 guns each, and alſo l'Aimable of 32 guns and the Ceres of 18. About the ſame time alſo the fleet under Admiral Barrington took from the French, off Uſhant, le Pegaſe of 74 guns, l'Actionnaire of 64, and ten ſail of veſſels under their convoy.

It was univerſally allowed, that in this engagement the French, notwithſtanding their defeat, behaved with the greateſt valour. De Graſſé himſelf did not ſurrender till 400 of his people were killed, and only himſelf and two others remained without a wound. The captain of the Ceſar, after his enſign-ſtaff was ſhot away, and the ſhip almoſt battered to pieces, cauſed his colours to be nailed to the maſt, and thus continued fighting till he was killed. The veſſel, when taken, was a mere wreck. Other French officers behaved in the ſame manner. The valour of the Britiſh requires no encomium; it was evident from their ſucceſs.

This victory was a very fortunate circumſtance both for the intereſt and reputation of the Britiſh admiral. Before this event, the new miniſtry had appointed Admiral Pigot to ſuperſede him in the command in the Weſt Indies; and it was underſtood, that they meant to ſet on foot a rigid inquiry into the tranſactions at St. Euſtatius. But the ſplendour of this victory put an end to all thoughts of that kind; he received the thanks of both houſes of parliament for his ſervices; and was created an Engliſh peer, by the title of Baron Rodney, of Rodney-Stoke, in the county of Somerſet. Sir Samuel Hood was alſo created Baron Hood, of Catherington, in the kingdom of Ireland; and Rear-admiral Drake, and Captain Affleck, were created baronets of Great Britain. Some attempts were alſo made, in the houſe of commons, to procure a vote of cenſure againſt the new miniſtry, for having recalled Lord Rodney; but the motions made for this purpoſe were rejected by the majority.

The Count de Graſſe, after his defeat, was received on-board the Barfleur man of war, and afterwards landed on the iſland of Jamacia, where he was treated with great reſpect. After continuing there ſome time, he was conveyed to England, and accommodated with a ſuite of apartments at the Royal Hotel in Pall-mall. His ſword, which he had delivered up, according to the uſual cuſtom, to Admiral Rodney, was returned to him by the king. This etiquitte enabled him to appear at court, where he was received by their majeſties and the royal family in a manner ſuitable to his rank. From the time of his arrival in London to his departure, which was on the 12th of Auguſt 1782, he was viſited by many perſons of the firſt faſhion and diſtinction, and was much employed in paying viſits to the great officers of ſtate, and ſome of the principal nobility of the kingdom, by whom he was entertained in a very ſumptuous and hoſpitable ſtyle. He received, indeed, every mark of civility which the Britiſh nation could beſtow; and was treated with much reſpect even by the common people, from the opinion that was generally entertained of his valour and merit.

Though the deſigns of the French againſt Jamaica were now effectually fruſtrated, the victory was not followed by thoſe beneficial conſequences which by many were expected. None of the Britiſh iſlands which had been taken by the French in the Weſt Indies were afterwards recaptured; though it was hoped that this would have been the reſult of our naval ſuperiority in thoſe ſeas. It was alſo an unfortunate circumſtance, that ſome of thoſe ſhips which were taken by Admiral Rodney were afterwards loſt at ſea: particularly the Ville de Paris, Glorieux, and Hector. A Britiſh man of war, the Centaur, of 74 guns, was alſo ſunk in lat. 48. 33. lon. 43. 20. on the 24th of September 1782, in conſequence of the diſabled ſtate to which it was reduced by ſome very violent ſtorms. Before the ſhip ſunk, the officers and crew had ſuſtained great hardſhips: moſt of them at laſt went down with the ſhip; but the lives of Captain Inglefield the commander, and ten other officers and ſeamen, were preſerved by their getting on-board a pinnace. But even this was leaky; and when they went into it they were nearly in the middle of the Weſtern ocean, without compaſs, quadrant, great coat, or cloak; all very thinly clothed, in a gale of wind, and with ſcarcely any proviſions. After undergoing extreme hardſhips and fatigues for 16 days, they at length reached the iſland of Fayall, one of the Azores. They were ſo much reduced by want of food and inceſſant labour that, after they had landed, ſome of the ſtouteſt men belonging to the Centaur were obliged to be ſupported through the ſtreets of Fayall. The Jamaica homeward bound fleet were alſo diſperſed this year by a

hurricane

hurricane off the banks of Newfoundland, when the Ramillies of 74 guns, and ſeveral merchantmen, foundered.

The Britiſh navy alſo ſuſtained, about this time, a conſiderable loſs at home, by the Royal George, of 100 guns, being overſet and ſunk at Portſmouth. This melancholy accident, which happened on the 29th of Auguſt, was occaſioned by a partial heel being given to the ſhip, with a view to cleanſe and ſweeten her; but the guns on one ſide being removed to the other, or at leaſt the greater part of them, and her lower deck ports being not laſhed in, and the ſhip thwarting on the tide with a ſquall from the north-weſt, it filled with water, and ſhe ſunk in the ſpace of about three minutes. Admiral Kempenfelt, a very brave and meritorious officer, other officers, upwards of 400 ſeamen and 200 women, beſides many children, periſhed in her.

Thus the proſecution of the war ſeemed to be attended with endleſs diſaſters and difficulties to all parties. The ſignal defeat above mentioned not only ſecured the iſland of Jamaica effectually from the attempts of the French, but prevented them from entertaining any other project than that of diſtreſſing the commerce of individuals. In the beginning of May an expedition was undertaken to the remote and inhoſpitable regions of Hudſon's Bay; and though no force exiſted in that place capable of making any reſiſtance, a 74-gun ſhip and two 36-gun frigates were employed on the ſervice. All the people in that part of the world either fled or ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. The loſs of the Hudſon's bay company, on this occaſion, amounted to 500,000l. but the humanity of the French commander was conſpicuous in leaving a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and ſtores of all kinds for the uſe of the Britiſh who had fled at his approach.

Another expedition was undertaken by the Spaniards to the Bahama iſlands, where a like eaſy conqueſt was obtained. The iſland of Providence was defended only by 360 men, who, being attacked by 5000, could make reſiſtance. A very honourable capitulation was granted by the victors, who likewiſe treated the garriſon with great kindneſs afterwards. Some ſettlements on the Moſqueto ſhore were alſo taken by the Spaniards: but the Bay-men, aſſiſted by their negroes, bravely retook ſome of them; and having formed a little army with the Indians in thoſe parts, headed by Colonel Deſpard, they attacked and carried the poſts on the Black River, making priſoners of about 800 Spaniſh troops. This was the Colonel Deſpard who afterwards blaſted his fair fame by engaging in a plot to murder the king and overturn the government, for which he and ſix others were executed Feb. 21, 1803. The great diſaſter which befel Spain, however, was their failure before Gibraltar, which happened in the month of September 1782, with ſuch circumſtances of horror and deſtruction as evinced the abſurdity of perſiſting in the enterpriſe. Thus all parties were taught that it was high time to put an end to their conteſts. The affair of Cornwallis had ſhown that it was impoſſible for Britain to conquer America; the defeat of de Graſſe had rendered the reduction of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies impracticable by the French; the final repulſe before Gibraltar, and its relief afterwards by the Britiſh fleet, put an end to that favourite enterpriſe, in which almoſt the whole ſtrength of Spain was employed; while the engagement of the Dutch with Admiral Parker ſhowed them that nothing could be gained by a naval war with Britain.

As early as November 30, 1782, the articles of a proviſional treaty of peace were ſettled between Britain and America. By theſe it was ſtipulated, that the people of the United States ſhould continue to enjoy, without moleſtation, the right to take fiſh of every kind on the grand bank, and on all the other banks, of Newfoundland; and that they ſhould likewiſe exerciſe and continue the ſame privilege in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and at every other place in the ſea, where the inhabitants uſed heretofore to fiſh. The inhabitants of the United States were likewiſe to have the liberty to take fiſh of every kind on ſuch part of the coaſt of Newfoundland as Britiſh ſeamen ſhall reſort to; but not to cure or dry them on that iſland. They were alſo to poſſeſs the privilege of fiſhing on the coaſts, bays, and creeks, of all the other dominions of his Britannic majeſty in America; and the American fiſhermen were permitted to cure and dry fiſh in any of the unſettled bays, harbours, and creeks, of Nova Scotia, Magdalen iſlands, and Labrador. But it was agreed, that, after ſuch places ſhould be ſettled, this right could not be legally put in practice without the conſent of the inhabitants and proprietors of the ground. It was accorded, that creditors upon either ſide ſhould meet with no impediment in the proſecution of their claims. It was contracted that the congreſs ſhould earneſtly recommend it to the legiſlatures of the reſpective ſtates, to provide for the reſtitution of all eſtates and properties which had been confiſcated, belonging to real Britiſh ſubjects, and of the eſtates and properties of perſons reſident in diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of his majeſty's arms, and who had not borne arms againſt the United States. It was reſolved, that perſons of any other deſcription ſhould have free liberty to go to any part whatſoever of any of the thirteen united ſtates, and remain in it for twelve months unmoleſted in their endeavours to recover ſuch of their eſtates, rights, and properties, as might not have been confiſcated; and it was concerted that the congreſs ſhould earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral ſtates a reviſion of all acts or laws regarding the premiſes, ſo as to render them perfectly conſiſtent, not only with juſtice and equity, but with that ſpirit of conciliation which, on the return of the bleſſings of peace, ſhould univerſally prevail. It was underſtood that no future confiſcations ſhould be made, nor proſecutions commenced againſt any perſon, or body of men, on account of the part which he or they had taken in the preſent war; and that thoſe who might be in confinement on ſuch a charge, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, ſhould be immediately ſet at liberty. It was concluded that there ſhould be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majeſty and the United States; that all hoſtilities by ſea and land ſhould immediately ceaſe; and that priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty. It was determined that his Britannic majeſty ſhould expeditiouſly, and without committing deſtruction of any ſort, withdraw all his armies, garriſons, and fleets, from every port, place, and harbour, of the united ſtates. The navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the ocean, was to remain for ever free and open to the ſubjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States. In fine, it was agreed in the event, that if any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, ſhould be conquered by the arms of either before the arrival of the proviſional articles in America, it ſhould be reſtored without compenſation or difficulty.

In the treaty between Great Britain and France, it was agreed that Newfoundland ſhould remain with England, as before the commencement of the war; and, to prevent diſputes about boundaries, it was accorded that the French fiſhery ſhould begin from Cape St. John on the eaſtern ſide, and going round by the north, ſhould have for its boundary Cape Ray on the weſtern ſide. The iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which had been taken in September 1778, were ceded in full right to France. The French were to continue to fiſh in the gulph of St. Laurence, conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris. The King of Great Britain was to reſtore to France the iſland of St. Lucia, and to cede and guarantee to her that of

Tobago. The King of France was to ſurrender to Great Britain the iſlands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat. The river of Senegal and its dependences, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic, were to be given to France; and the iſland of Goree was to be reſtored to that power. Fort James and the river Gambia were guarantied to his Britannic majeſty; and the gum trade was to remain in the ſame condition as before the commencement of hoſtilities. The King of Great Britain was to reſtore to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty all the eſtabliſhments which belonged to him at the breaking out of the war on the coaſt of Orixa and in Bengal, with the liberty to ſurround Chandernagor with a ditch for draining the waters; and became engaged to ſecure to the ſubjects of France in that part of India, and on the coaſts of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a ſafe, free, and independent trade, either as private traders, or under the direction of a company. Pondicherry, as well as Karical, was to be rendered back to France; and his Britannic majeſty was to give as a dependency round Pondicherry the two diſtricts of Valanour and Bahour; and as a dependency round Karical, the four contiguous Magans. The French were again to enter into the poſſeſſion of Mahe, and of the comptoir at Surat. The allies of France and Great Britain were to be invited to accede to the preſent pacification; and the term of four months was to be allowed them, for the purpoſe of making their deciſion. In the event of their averſion from peace, no aſſiſtance on either ſide was to be given to them. Great Britain renounced every claim with reſpect to Dunkirk. Commiſſioners were to be appointed reſpectively by the two nations to inquire into the ſtate of their commerce, and to concert new arrangements of trade on the footing of mutual convenience. All conqueſts on either ſide, in any part of the world whatſoever, not mentioned nor alluded to in the preſent treaty, were to be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring compenſation. The priſoners upon each ſide were reciprocally to be ſurrendered, and without ranſom, upon the ratification of the treaty, and on paying the debts they might have contracted during their captivity. Each crown was reſpectively to reimburſe the ſums which had been advanced for the maintenance of their priſoners by the country where they had been detained, according to atteſted and authentic vouchers. With a view to prevent every diſpute and complaint on account of prizes which might be made at ſea after the ſigning of the preliminary articles, it was mutually ſettled and underſtood, that the veſſels and effects which might be taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after the ſpace of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the preſent preliminary articles, were to be reſtored upon each ſide; that the term ſhould be one month from the Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary-iſlands incluſively, whether in the ocean or the Mediteranean; two months from the Canary iſlands as far as the equinoctial line or equator; and laſtly, five months without exception in all other parts of the world.

Theſe preliminary articles of peace were concluded at Verſailles on the 20th of January 1783, between Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, miniſter plenipotentiary on the part of his Britannic majeſty, and Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes, the miniſter plenipotentiary on the part of the King of France. At the ſame time the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and Spain were alſo concluded at Verſailles between Mr. Fitzherbert and the Comte d'Aranda, the miniſter plenipotentiary for the Spaniſh monarch. It was agreed that a ſincere friendſhip ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed between his Britannic majeſty and his Catholic majeſty, their kingdoms, ſtates, and ſubjects by ſea and land in all parts of the world. His Catholic majeſty was to keep the iſland of Minorca; and was to retain Weſt Florida. Eaſt Florida was to be ceded to him by the King of Great Britain. Eighteen months from the date of the ratification of the definitive treaty were to be allowed to the ſubjects of the latter who had ſettled in the iſland of Minorca and in the two Floridas, to ſell their eſtates, to recover their debts, and to tranſport their perſons and effects, without being reſtrained upon account of their religion, or on any other pretence whatſoever except that of debts and proſecutions for crimes. His Britannic majeſty was, at the ſame time, to have the power to cauſe all the effects that might belong to him in Eaſt Florida, whether artillery or others, to be carried away. The liberty of cutting logwood in a diſtrict of which the boundaries were to be aſcertained, without modeſtation or diſturbance of any kind whatſover, was permitted to Great Britain. The King of Spain was to reſtore the iſlands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the condition in which they were when they were conquered by his arms. All other conqueſts of territories and countries upon either ſide, not included in the preſent articles, were to be mutually reſtored without difficulty or compenſation. The epoch for the reſtitutions to be made, and for the evacuations to take place, the regulations for the releaſe of priſoners, and for the ceſſation of captures, were exactly the ſame as thoſe which have already been related, as ſtipulated in the preliminary articles with France.

No ſooner were theſe articles ratified and laid before parliament, than the moſt vehement declamations againſt miniſtry took place. Never had the adminiſtration of Lord North himſelf been arraigned with more aſperity of language. The miniſtry defended themſelves with great reſolution; but found it impoſſible to avoid the cenſure of parliament. An addreſs without any amendment was indeed carried in the houſe of lords by 72 to 59; but in the lower houſe it was loſt by 224 to 208. On the 21ſt of February, 1783, ſome reſolutions were moved in the houſe of commons by Lord George Cavendiſh, of which the moſt remarkable were, that the conceſſions made by Britain were greater than its adverſaries had a right to expect; and that the houſe would take the caſe of the American loyaliſts into conſideration. The laſt motion indeed his lordſhip conſented to wave; but all the reſt were carried againſt miniſtry by 207 to 190. Theſe proceedings, however, could make no alteration with regard to the treaty, which had already been ratified by all the contending powers, the Dutch only excepted. The terms offered them were a renewal of the treaty of 1674: which, though the moſt advantageous they could poſſibly expect, were poſitively refuſed at that time. Afterwards they made an offer to accept the terms they had formerly refuſed; but the compliment was then returned by a refuſal on the part of Britain. When the preliminary articles were ſettled with the courts of France and Spain, a ſuſpenſion of arms took place with Holland alſo; but, though the definitive treaties with the other powers were finally concluded by the 3d of September, it was not till then that the preliminary articles were ſettled with Holland. The terms were a general reſtitution of all places taken on both ſides during the war, excepting only the ſettlement of Negapatnam in the Eaſt Indies, which was to remain in the hands of Britain, unleſs the equivalent was given on the part of Holland. The navigation of the eaſtern ſeas was to remain free and unmoleſted to all the Britiſh ſhipping. The other articles concerned only the exchange of priſoners, and ſuch other matters as are common to all treaties.

Thus an end was put to the moſt dangerous war in which Britain was ever engaged; and in which, notwithſtanding the powerful combination againſt her, ſhe ſtill remained in a ſtate of ſuperiority to all her enemies. At that time, and ever ſince, it has appeared, how much the politicians were miſtaken who imagined that the proſperity of Britain depended in a great meaſure on her colonies: though for a number of years ſhe had not only been deprived of theſe colonies, but oppoſed by them with all their force; though attacked at the ſame time by three of the greateſt powers in Europe, and looked upon with an invidious eye by all the reſt; the damages done to her enemies ſtill greatly exceeded thoſe ſhe had received. Their trade by ſea was almoſt ruined; and on comparing the loſs of ſhips on both ſides, the balance in favour of Britain was 28 ſhips of the line and 37 frigates, carrying in all near 2000 guns

Having thus given as full an account as our limits would allow of the great national events to the concluſion of the peace in 1783, we ſhall now give a detail of ſome others, which though of ſufficient importance to deſerve notice, could not without interrupting the narrative. It has repeatedly been obſerved, that thro' the violence of parties, a general temper of diſtruſt and ſuſpicion took place throughout the nation, inſomuch that the moſt improbable ſtories with reſpect to individuals began to gain credit, of which an inſtance was given in the caſe of Mr. Sayre. From certain circumſtances, however, it appeared, that there undoubtedly were perſons in the kingdom who wiſhed if poſſible to deſtroy the national ſtrength in ſuch a manner as to render it impoſſible for us to make head againſt the attempts of our enemies. On the 8th of December 1776, a fire broke out in the ropehouſe of the dockyard at Portſmouth, which totally conſumed it, but without doing any very material damage. For ſome time the affair paſſed as an accident; but in clearing away the rubbiſh, a tin-box was found with a wooden bottom containing matches which had been lighted, and underneath was a veſſel with ſpirit of wine: however,

ever, the fire not having been properly ſupplied with air, had extinguiſhed of itſelf before it touched the ſpirit of wine. Had it caught fire, all the ſtores in the ſtorehouſe, ſufficient to rig out 50 ſail of men of war, would have been deſtroyed. In the beginning of the year 1777, a fire happened at Briſtol, which conſumed ſix or ſeven warehouſes; and by the finding of machines ſimilar to thoſe already mentioned, it was evident that the fire had not been accidental. The terror of the public was now greatly increaſed, and the moſt violent accuſations againſt each other were thrown out by the miniſterial and popular parties. On this point, however, they ſoon came to a right underſtanding, by the diſcovery of the author of all this miſchief. This was one James Aitken, *alias* John the Painter, a native of Edinburgh. Having been from his early years accuſtomed to a vagrant life, to which indeed his profeſſion naturally led him, he had gone through many different adventures. He had enliſted as a ſoldier, deſerted, and, when pinched by want, made no ſcruple of betaking himſelf to the highway, or committing thefts. Having traverſed a great part of America, he there imbibed the prejudices againſt Britain to ſuch a degree, that he at laſt took the extraordinary reſolution of ſingly overturning the whole power of the nation. This he was to accompliſh by ſetting on fire the dockyards at Portſmouth and Plymouth, and afterwards the principal trading towns of the nation. With this view, he inſpected with the utmoſt care thoſe docks and other places on which his attempts were to be made, in order to learn with what care they were guarded. This he found in general as negligent as he could wiſh; and indeed had he not been ſome way or other very deficient in the conſtruction of his machines, he muſt certainly have done a great deal of miſchief: for, as his attempts were always diſcovered by finding his machines,

chines, it was apparent that he had met with abundance of opportunities.

For ſome time the affair at Portſmouth paſſed, as has already been mentioned, for an accident. It was ſoon recollected, however, that a perſon had been ſeen loitering about the rope-houſe, and had even been locked up one night in it; that he had worked as a painter, and taken frequent opportunities of getting into that houſe, &c. These circumſtances exciting a ſuſpicion that he was the incendiary, he was traced to different places, and at laſt found in a priſon, to which he had been committed for a burglary. On his examination, however, he behaved with ſuch aſſurance and apparent conſciouſneſs of innocence, as almoſt diſconcerted thoſe who thought him guilty. At laſt he was deceived into a confeſſion by another painter, who was likewiſe an American, and pretended to compaſſionate his caſe. Thus evidence was procured againſt him: but he maintained his character to the very laſt; rejecting and invalidating the teſtimony of his falſe friend, on account of his baſeneſs and treachery. He received his ſentence with great fortitude; and at length not only confeſſed his guilt, but left ſome directions for preventing the dock-yards and magazines from being expoſed to the like danger in time to come.

Thus it appeared that the whole of this alarm of treaſon and American incendiaries was owing to the political enthuſiaſm of one man. Still, however, it appeared that the French court were very well acquainted with many particulars relating to the ſtate of this kingdom, and the movements of our ſquadrons, which ought by all means to have been kept ſecret. Theſe treacherous proceedings were firſt detected in the month of June 1780. One Ratcliffe, maſter of a cutter, gave information that he had been hired by one Mr. Rogere to carry packets to France, for which he was to be paid 20l. each time, and to have

100l. beſides, at a certain period. Apprehending at laſt, however, that he might incur ſome danger by continuing this employment, he gave information of what was going on to one Mr. Steward, a merchant at Sandwich, by whom his laſt packet was carried to the ſecretary of ſtate. After being opened and ſealed up again, it was returned, and he was directed to carry it to France as formerly. This was the fate of ſeveral ſucceeding packets, though it was ſome time before Ratcliffe ſaw the principal party concerned. At laſt this was accompliſhed by his complaining to Mr. Rogere that he had not been paid the 100l. according to promiſe. A meeting being thus procured, it was found that the perſon who gave intelligence to the enemy was one M. Henry de la Motte, a French gentleman then reſiding in London. On ſearching his houſe, no papers of any conſequence were found; but on his arrival, he being abſent when the meſſengers firſt arrived, he threw ſome out of his pocket, unperceived by any body, as he thought. The papers, however, were taken up by the meſſengers, and gave plain indications not only of a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy, but that he was connected with one Henry Lutterloh, Eſq. a German, who then reſided at Wickham near Portſmouth. This perſon being alſo apprehended, not only made a full diſcovery of the treaſonable correſpondence with France, but gave abundant proofs of himſelf being one of the moſt depraved and hardened of all mankind, loſt to every ſenſation excepting the deſire of accumulating wealth. His evidence, however, and other ſtrong circumſtances, were ſufficient to convict M. de la Motte, who was accordingly executed, though the king remitted that dreadful part of his ſentence of having his heart taken out alive, &c. During his trial, and on every other occaſion, he behaved in ſuch a manner as ſhowed him to be an accompliſhed gentleman;

man; and not only excited the compaſſion, but the admiration, of every one who ſaw him.

During the whole courſe of the war, only one other perſon was detected in any act of treaſon; and he appears to have been actuated merely by mercenary motives, though La Motte and John the Painter probably acted from principle. This was one David Tyrie, a native of Edinburgh. Having been bred in the mercantile line, and engaged in a number of ſpeculations with a view to gain money, in all of which he diſcovered conſiderable abilities, he at laſt engaged in the dangerous one of conveying intelligence to the French of the ſhips of war fitted out in Britain, the time of their ſailing, &c. For this he was apprehended in February 1782. The diſcovery was made by means of one Mrs. Aſkew, who paſſed for his wife, having delivered a bundle of papers in a hurry to a ſchool miſtreſs, and deſiring her not to ſhow them to any body. Inſtead of this, however, ſhe not only inſpected them herſelf, but ſhowed them to another, by whom they were ſent to the ſecretary at war. By this, and another packet diſcovered by William James, who had been employed to carry it to France, Tyrie was convicted and executed in the month of Auguſt 1782. He behaved with great reſolution, and at laſt ſhowed rather an indecent levity and unconcern, by laughing at the place of execution. The ſentence not only took place in the dreadful manner appointed by law, but the crowd behaved with the moſt ſhameful and unexampled barbarity. "Such (ſays the accounts of his execution) being the *ſingular conduct* of many who were near the body, that happy was he who could procure a finger, or ſome veſtige of the criminal!"— This unhappy man, while in priſon, had, with his companions, contrived a method of effecting their eſcape, by working through a brick-wall three feet thick, and covering the hole with a plank coloured like the bricks; but the ſcheme was diſcovered by the imprudence of Tyrie himſelf aſking the keeper how thick the wall was.

On the whole, it appears, that notwithſtandng the exceſſive altercation and virulence of parties, which even went to ſuch a length as to produce duels between ſome members of parliament, neither the one nor the other entertained any deſigns againſt what they believed to be the true intereſt of the nation. The one ſeem to have regarded its honour too much, and been inclined to ſacrifice even its exiſtence to that favourite notion: the other perhaps regarded the national honour too little; as indeed no advantageous idea could have been formed of the ſpirit of a nation which could ſubmit to grant its colonies independence without any ſtruggle. The event, however, has ſhown that the loſs of the colonies, ſo far from being a diſadvantage, has been the very reverſe. The commerce of Britain, inſtead of being dependent on America, arrived at a much greater height than ever, and the conſequent increaſe of wealth, could we have avoided the ruinous war in which we have lately been engaged, might by this time have enabled the nation to free itſelf from that enormous debt, great part of which had been contracted, firſt in defending, and then attempting to conquer, the colonies.

1783. DURING the coalition adminiſtration, while Mr. Fox and Lord North were joint ſecretaries of ſtate, Mr. Pitt brought forward (May 7th) a ſpecific plan for adding one hundred members to the counties, and aboliſhing a proportionable number of the burgage tenure and other ſmall and obnoxious boroughs. The revival of this important ſubject, which had deeply agitated the public mind, produced an animated debate; in the courſe of which, the diſcordant ſentiments of miniſters did not fail to awaken afreſh the reſentment of the houſe againſt the "ill-ſtarred coalition."

Lord North, in a ſtrain of alluſive pleaſantry declared, "That, while ſome with Lear demanded an hundred knights, and others with Goneril were ſatisfied with fifty, he with Regan exclaimed, No, not ONE." His lordſhip, entering into a graver and more argumentative vein, proceeded to deny, "that the houſe of commons had not its full and proper weight in the ſcale of government; his political life was a proof that it had. It was parliament that made him a miniſter. He came amongſt them without connection. It was to them he was indebted for his riſe, and they had pulled him down; he had been the creature of their opinion, and of their power; his political career was conſequently a proof of their independence; the voice of the commons was ſufficient to remove whatever was diſpleaſing to the ſentiments and wiſhes of the country; and in ſuch a ſituation to *parade* about a reform was idle, unneceſſary, inexpedient, and dangerous."

Mr. Fox, whoſe opinion on this great national queſtion was totally irreconcileable with that of his brother ſecretary's, very honourably for himſelf, preferred the conſiſtency of public character to every conſideration, either of private friendſhip or parliamentary attachments.

While the diſcuſſion of this important ſubject expoſed the abſurdity of the coalition; it is very remarkable that it paved the way for another in every view certainly as ſingular and extraordinary. The lord advocate for Scotland, Mr. Dundas, who had all along diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for high prerogative, ſuſpended upon the preſent occaſion his natural ſentiments, became at once a convert to the doctrine of reform, and aſſerted his entire approbation of Mr. Pitt's reſolutions. He ſtood up boldly the advocate of the peop'e, and affirmed, "that the yielding to their wiſhes would be the happieſt means of putting an end to their complaints; and would certainly give

a

a freſh infuſion of fine blood into the conſtitution of the houſe of commons." Though the lord advocate and Mr. Pitt had been in office together during the ſhort-lived Shelburne adminiſtration, they had continued until now rather ſhy than familiar, but this unexpected ſupport and patriotic effuſion effected a cordial and laſting union between thoſe two celebrated characters. But after all the ſupport Mr. Pitt's motion and reſolutions met with, they were loſt by a majority of 293 to 149.

Whatever may be the language or views of party, it muſt be evident to every impartial mind intereſted in the welfare of Britain, that the houſe of commons is far from anſwering all the ſalutary ends of its inſtitution. While it is admitted that moſt of the boroughs are the property of individuals, who can only look to the crown for honours and emoluments; the miniſter muſt poſſeſs a power in the houſe of commons incompatible with the general intereſts of the people. No political truth has been more completely aſcertained by experience than this; and the bold aſſertion of Lord North, "that his adminiſtration was a proof of the independence of the houſe of commons," might perhaps have had ſome degree of weight, could it be loſt to the public recollection, that the noble lord was originally advanced to the premierſhip by the *fiat* of the *executive power*, and was continued in office, during the firſt and laſt years of his adminiſtration at leaſt, by the influence of the ſame power, in daring contrariety to the clear, unanimous, and decided, ſenſe of the nation. His lordſhip's compulſive reſignation at laſt, proved only that there are limits, beyond which, even the complaiſance of the repreſentative body does not extend.

Mr. Pitt having failed in his attempt to improve the conſtitution of the houſe of commons, Mr. Alderman Sawbridge brought forward, May 16, his motion for ſhortening the duration of parliaments. The motion was ſeconded by Alderman Bull, and warmly ſupported by the Earl of Surrey and others, but was loſt by a majority of 123 to 56.

In the courſe of the ſummer, the king, by virtue of an act paſſed for that purpoſe, iſſued an order in council, limiting the commerce between the continent of America and the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands to ſhips Britiſh-built. This was comformable to the grand principle on which the act of navigation was originally founded; and, though this reſtriction gave extreme offence to the inhabitants of the United States, they had certainly no juſt reaſon to complain, as they could have no poſſible right to claim the advantages of dependence and independence at one and the ſame time.

On the 18th of November, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for veſting the affairs of the Eaſt-India company in the hands of certain commiſſioners, for the benefit of the proprietary and the public. The plan propoſed by Mr. Fox, was marked with all the characteriſtics of his ardent, daring, and luminous, mind. The total derangement of the finances of the company, and their utter incompetency to govern the vaſt territories of which they had by very queſtionable means obtained the poſſeſſion, was too evident to admit of contradiction. The evil was notorious, and difficult indeed was the taſk of deviſing an adequate remedy. This famous bill propoſed to take at once from the directors and proprietors, the entire adminiſtration, both of their territorial and commercial affairs; and to veſt the management and direction of them in the hands of ſeven commiſſioners named in the bill, and irremovable by the crown, except in conſequence of an addreſs of either houſe of parliament. Theſe commiſſioners were to be aſſiſted by a ſubordinate board of nine directors, to be named in the firſt inſtance, by parliament, and afterwards choſen by the proprietors. Theſe commiſſioners and directors were impowered to enter immediately into poſſeſſion of all lands, tenements, books, records, veſſels, goods, merchandize, and ſecurities, in truſt for the company. They were required to come to a deciſion upon every queſtion within a limited time, or to aſſign a ſpecific reaſon for their delay. They were never to vote by ballot, and they were almoſt in all caſes to enter upon their journals the reaſons of their vote. They were to ſubmit once in every ſix months an exact ſtate of their accounts to the court of proprietors, and at the beginning of every ſeſſion to preſent a ſtatement of their affairs to both houſes of parliament. This bill, which veſted the government in commiſſioners, was to continue in force four years, that is, till the year after the next general election. It was accompanied by a ſecond bill, enacting very excellent, wiſe, and equitable, regulations for the future government of the Britiſh territories in Hindooſtan. It took from the governor-general all power of acting independently of his council. It declared every exiſting Britiſh power in India incompetent to the acquiſition or exchange of any territory in behalf of the company;—to the acceding to any treaty of partition;—to the hiring out the company's troops; to the appointment to office of any perſon removed for miſdemeanour;—and to the hiring out any property to any civil ſervant of the company. It prohibited all monopolies; and alſo declared every illegal preſent recoverable by any perſon for his own ſole benefit. But that part of the preſent bill, upon which the principal value ſeemed to be placed by its author, related to the Zemindars, or native landholders, whom it employed effectual means to ſecure in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective inheritances, and to defend from oppreſſion. It particularly endeavoured to preclude all vexations and uſurious claims that might be made upon them. It therefore prohibited mortgages, and ſubjected every doubtful claim to the examination and cenſure of the commiſſioners.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive the aſtoniſhment excited in the houſe of commons by the diſcloſure of this ſyſtem. It was eſpouſed with zeal and enthuſiaſm by the friends of the miniſter; and it was attacked by his opponents with all the vehemence of indignation, and all the energy of invective. It was on one ſide of the houſe extolled as a maſter-piece of genius, virtue, and ability; while on the other it was reprobated as a deep and dangerous deſign, fraught with miſchief and ruin. Mr. Pitt diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion as a formidable adverſary of the miniſter. He acknowledged, "that India indeed wanted a reform, but not ſuch a reform as this: it wanted a *conſtitutional* alteration, and not a *tyrannical* one, that broke through every principle of equity and juſtice. By the bill before the houſe an attack was made on the moſt ſolemn charters: it pointed a fatal blow againſt the faith and integrity of parliament: it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. The principle of this bill once eſtabliſhed, what ſecurity had the other public companies of the kingdom? What ſecurity had the bank of England? What ſecurity had the national creditors, or the public corporations? Or indeed, what aſſurance could we have for the GREAT CHARTER itſelf, the foundation of all our liberties? It would be folly in the extreme to ſuppoſe, that the principle, once admitted, would operate only on the preſent occaſion. Good principles might ſleep, but bad ones never. It was the curſe of ſociety, that when a bad principle was once eſtabliſhed, bad men would always be found to give it its full effect. The right-honourable mover had acknowledged himſelf to be a man of ambition, and it now appeared that he was prepared to ſacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people, at the ſhrine of his ambition. He deſired to elevate his preſent connections to a ſituation in which no political convulſions, and no variations of power, might be able to deſtroy their importance, and terminate their aſcendency."

On the other hand, Mr. Fox with aſtoniſhing eloquence and ability vindicated the bill. To the charge of violating the company's charter; he replied, that certainly perſons who talked thus had never read the other act by which the company's charters had been again and again altered to a great extent. The regulating act of 1773, had effected various changes, and had given the whole military and civil government to parliamentary commiſſioners in India. The different acts by which the dividends of the company had been reſtrained, had pointed directly at their commercial concerns, and affected their property. He had been warned by his opponents againſt palliatives and half-meaſures; and he ſhould be glad to hear how it was poſſible to adapt a new ſyſtem by parliamentary authority, without ſtriking at thoſe charters, which entitled the company to continue the old one. He had adverted to the plea of neceſſity; and it was objected to him, that neceſſity was the creed of ſlaves. He would tell thoſe objectors, that it was alſo the creed of freemen. Every ſyllable that had been uttered reſpecting the intangibility of claims made venerable by preſcription and parchments, was a battery againſt the main pillars of the Britiſh conſtitution. He would riſk (he ſaid) his all upon the excellence of this bill. He would riſk upon it whatever was moſt dear to him, whatever men moſt valued, the character of integrity, of talents, of honour, of preſent reputation and future fame:—theſe he would ſtake upon the conſtitutional ſafety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wiſdom of the meaſure. Whatever therefore might be the fate of its authors, he had no fear that it would produce to this country every bleſſing of commerce and revenue; and by extending a generous and humane government over thoſe millions whom the inſcrutable diſpenſations of providence had placed under us in the remoteſt regions of the earth; it would conſecrate the name of England among the nobleſt nations.

While the bill was pending in the commons, a petition was preſented by the Eaſt India company, repreſenting the meaſure as ſubverſive of their charter, and operating as a confiſcation of their property without charging againſt them any ſpecific delinquency; without trial, without conviction; a proceeding contrary to the moſt ſacred privileges of Britiſh ſubjects; and praying to be heard by counſel againſt the bill. The city of London alſo took the alarm, and preſented a ſtrong petition to the ſame effect. But it was carried with uncommon rapidity through all its ſtages in the houſe of commons by deciſive majorities, the diviſion on the ſecond reading being 217 to 103 voices. In the houſe of lords, the ſecond reading took place on the 15th of December, when counſel was heard at the bar in behalf of the company: and on the 17th it was moved that the bill be rejected. On this occaſion Lord Camden ſpoke with great ability againſt the bill, which his lordſhip affirmed to be "in the higheſt degree pernicious and unconſtitutional. To diveſt the company of the management of their own property, and commercial concerns, was to treat them as ideots; and he regarded the bill, not ſo much in the light of a commiſſion of bankruptcy as of lunacy. But as a means of throwing an enormous addition of weight into the ſcale, not of legal, but miniſterial influence, it was ſtill more alarming. Were this bill to paſs into a law, his lordſhip forcibly declared, we ſhould ſee the King of England and the King of Bengal contending for ſuperiority in the Britiſh parliment." After a vehement debate, the motion of rejection was carried by 95 againſt 76 voices.

Such was the concluding ſcene of the coalition adminiſtration, from whoſe vigour its partiſans had conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes; and whoſe ſtrength had been repreſented by its enemies ſo vaſt and irreſiſtible, as would in its progreſs break down all the barriers of the conſtitution. As the firſt diviſions in the upper houſe were favourable to this bill, it will naturally be imagined that ſuch a ſudden and remarkable change of ſentiment, muſt have been occaſioned by the intervention of ſome powerful cauſe, adequate to ſo extraordinary and unexpected an effect: and, as the ſolution of this phenomenon will ſerve as a key to ſubſequent tranſactions of ſome importance, it particularly merits inſertion. On the 11th of December, Earl Temple (at preſent Marquis of Buckingham) had a conference with his majeſty, which appears principally to have turned on the bill then pending in parliament. Though it was generally believed that the moſt entire cordiality and confidence on all points did not ſubſiſt between the king and his miniſters, yet upon this meaſure they had obtained his concurrence. It was probably the language that had been held by ſome of the members in the houſe of commons, who, in the heat of debate had aſſerted, that, if the bill paſſed into a law, the crown would be no longer worth wearing, that firſt excited doubts in the royal breaſt. Earl Temple, however, in the conference alluded to, having clearly and fully explained his ideas on the nature and tendency of the bill, the ſovereign became at once a complete convert to the views and ſyſtem of oppoſition: he conſidered himſelf as having been duped and deceived by his confidential ſervants. A card was immediately written, ſtating, "that his majeſty allowed Earl Temple to ſay, that whoever voted for the India bill was not *not his* friend, but would be conſidered by him as his enemy. And if theſe words were not ſtrong enough, Earl Temple might uſe whatever words he might deem ſtronger or more to the purpoſe."

An entire change of adminiſtration was therefore at all hazards determined upon; and accordingly at midnight on the 18th of December, a royal meſſage was ſent to the ſecretaries of ſtate, demanding the ſeals of their ſeveral departments, and at the ſame time directing that they ſhould be delivered to the ſovereign by the under ſecretaries, as a perſonal interview would be diſagreeble. Early next morning letters of diſmiſſion, ſigned Temple, were ſent to the other members of the cabinet. In a few days after, Mr. Pitt was declared firſt lord of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; the Marquis of Carmarthen, and Mr. Thomas Townſhend, created Lord Sydney, were nominated ſecretaries of ſtate; Lord Thurlow was reinſtated as lord chancellor; Earl Gower as preſident of the council; the Duke of Rutland was conſtituted lord privy ſeal; Lord Howe placed at the head of the admiralty; and the Duke of Richmond of the ordinance. The Earl of Northington was recalled from his government of Ireland, to which Lord Temple, who had retained the ſeals of ſecretary only three days, was again appointed to ſucceeded. On the 25th of March 1784, the parliament was diſſolved by proclamation, and a new parliament convened to meet on the 18th of May.

As the general election was, in fact, an appeal to the ſenſe of the nation upon an extraordinary occaſion, ſo the deciſion of the people was fully and explicitly in favour of the new miniſters. The influence of the crown, being evidently combined with the inclination of the country, the effect produced was aſtoniſhing. The coalitioniſts, even thoſe who once ſtood higheſt in the eſtimation of the public, were almoſt every where thrown out. But the moſt diſtinguiſhed conteſt was that of the election for the city of Weſtminſter; where the parties maintained a long and violent ſtruggle, almoſt as memorable as a battle between contending nations. Mr. Fox, however, to the ſurpriſe of all, cloſed the poll with a majority of 235; but the high bailiff, by a ſcandalous partiality, refuſed to make the return in his favour, for which an action was afterwards brought by Mr. Fox, in the court of king's bench, and a verdict with large damages obtained.

The meeting of parliament took place on the 18th of May; and from this term we may date the commencement of the parliamentary exiſtence of adminiſtration. The remainder of the laſt ſeſſion may rather be ſaid to have been ſpent in a conteſt about places and power, than in the characteriſtic exertions of a regular government. The new miniſters had now completed their arrangements; they had obtained every advantage of ſituation; and had leiſure to purſue, and ſtrength to carry thoſe meaſures which were to decide their character as ſtateſmen and legiſlators.

On the 16th of June, a motion was made by Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, "that a committee be appointed to enquire into the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the commons of Great Britain in parliament." Mr. Pitt, in the uſual language of miniſters, now ſtated, that the *time* was improper, but obſerved alſo, that the meaſure had his approbation, and he ſhould bring the ſubject before parliament early next ſeſſion. Mr. Fox thought, that as the miniſter could never command a greater majority than at preſent, this was the proper period to enſure ſucceſs, and warmly ſupported the motion. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this debate was, that Mr. Dundas, who had ſupported the former propoſition of Mr. Pitt, had the good luck to eſcape the charge of inconſiſtency in oppoſing the preſent motion, by the fortunate diſcovery of a diſtinction which preſerved his reputation. His objection was, that the committee *now* moved for was a ſelect committee, whereas the committee for which he had *formerly* voted was a committee of the whole houſe. Lord Mulgrave moved the previous queſtion, which was carried by a majority of 74.

Mr. Pitt had now reached the ſummit of popularity, and the public with impatient anxiety expected the production of his plan for the future government of India.

Mr. Pitt therefore, introduced this grand buſineſs on the 6th of July, by bringing forward a bill, founded on the general principles of that rejected by the former parliament, and to which the company had now given their ſlow and reluctant aſſent. By this bill, a board of control, compoſed of a certain number of commiſſioners of the rank of privy counſellors, was eſtabliſhed, the members of which were to be appointed by the king, and removeable at his pleaſure. This board was authoriſed to check, ſuperintend, and controul, the civil and military government and revenue of the company. The diſpatches tranſmitted by the court of directors to the different preſidencies, were to be previouſly ſubjected to the inſpection of the board, and were alſo by them to be counter-ſigned. The directors were enjoined to pay due obedience to the orders of the board, touching civil and military government and revenues; and in caſe ſuch orders do at any time, in the opinion of the directors, relate to matters not connected with theſe points, they are empowered to appeal to his majeſty in council, whoſe deciſion is declared final. The bill alſo enacted, that the appointment of the court of directors to the office of governor-general, preſident, or counſellor to the different preſidencies, ſhall be ſubject to the approbation and recal of his majeſty. As to the Zemindars, or great hereditary land-holders of India, who had been violently diſpoſſeſſed of their property, and who, agreeably to the tenor of Mr. Fox's bill, were to have been univerſally and peremptorily reinſtated in their zemindaries, the preſent bill provided, only that an *enquiry* ſhould be inſtituted, in order to reſtore ſuch as ſhould appear to have been irregularly and unjuſtly deprived. Laſtly, an high tribunal was created, for the trial of Indian delinquents, conſiſting of three judges, one from each court, of four peers, and ſix members of the houſe of commons, who were authothoriſed to judge without appeal; to award, in caſe of conviction, the puniſhment of fine and impriſonment, and to declare the party convicted incapable of ſerving the Eaſt India company. Such were the grand and leading features of Mr. Pitt's bill.

With all the partiality of the houſe in favour of Mr. Pitt, this bill was found to be ſo crude and imperfect on its firſt appearance, that almoſt all his own friends objected to one or other of its clauſes; and in a variety of ſubſequent amendments it underwent, it may be ſaid to have loſt entirely its original ſhape; and after all, ſuch were its radical defects, that it required (as will appear in the ſequel) a declaratory act to render it intelligible. With reſpect to the amendments, Mr. Sheridan humorouſly remarked, "that twenty-one new clauſes were added to the bill, which were diſtinguiſhed by the letters of the alphabet, and he requeſted ſome gentleman to ſuggeſt three more, in order to complete the hornbook of the preſent miniſtry. The old clauſes were now degraded, and were placed in black letters at the bottom of the page, mourning for the folly of their parents, and the ſlovenly manner in which the bill was drawn." On the motion of commitment, the numbers were, ayes 276, noes 61; and it was carried in triumph to the houſe of peers, where, after an oppoſition vigorous in point of exertion, but feeble in regard of numbers, the bill paſſed Auguſt 9, 1784. It was however accompanied by a proteſt, in which it was ſeverely branded as a meaſure ineffectual in its proviſions, unjuſt in its inquiſitorial ſpirit, and unconſtitutional in its partial abolition of trial by jury.

The attention of the houſe was transferred to a bill introduced by the miniſter, for the more effectual prevention of ſmuggling, which had, of late years ariſen to a moſt alarming height. This bill contained various prudential, but ſomewhat ſevere, regulations. The diſtance from ſhore at which ſeizures ſhould in future be deemed lawful was extended, and the conſtructing of veſſels of a certain form and dimenſion peculiarly calculated for ſmuggling prohibited. But by far the moſt extraordinary part of the preſent plan was the reduction of the duties paid by the Eaſt India company on the importation of tea, which was declared to be the grand medium of the ſmuggling traffic; and the conſequent impoſition of a new duty on windows, already moſt grievouſly burthened, to the amount of the deficiency, ſtated at no leſs than 600,000l. per annum. This was ſtyled by the miniſter a *commutation tax*; and the bill paſſed the houſe by a great majority.

The remaining great operation of finance during this ſeſſion, was the providing for the arrears of the unfunded debt left at the concluſion of the war, amounting to more than twenty millions. This was diſpoſed of partly in the four per cents, and partly in a new created five per cent. ſtock, made irredeemable for thirty years, or until twenty-five millions of the exiſting funds ſhould be extinguiſhed. It muſt not be omitted, that the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds was voted to his majeſty, to enable him to diſcharge the debt contracted on the civil liſt. This was the fourth grant for the ſame purpoſe ſince his acceſſion.

The laſt meaſure which came before parliament during the preſent ſeſſion, was a bill introduced by Mr. Dundas for the reſtoration of the eſtates forfeited in Scotland in conſequence of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Mr. Dundas declared "the meaſure to be, in his opinion, worthy of the juſtice and generoſity of parliament. He ſaid there was not one of the families comprehended in the ſcope of it, in which ſome perſon had not atoned for the crimes and errors of his anceſtors, by ſacrificing his blood in the cauſe of his country; and that the ſovereign had not for a long ſeries of years paſt a more loyal ſet of ſubjects than the highlanders and their chieftains. Of this the late Lord Chatham was deeply ſenſible, and that illuſtrious ſtateſman had publicly recogniſed the rectitude of the meaſure now propoſed. And he truſted that the remains of a ſyſtem, which, whether directed at firſt by narrow views or ſound policy, ought certainly to be temporary, would be completely annihilated under the adminiſtration of his ſon. He did not however mean, that the eſtates ſhould be freed from the claims exiſting againſt them at the time of forfeiture. This might be regarded as a premium for rebellion. He therefore propoſed the appropriation of ſuch ſums, amounting to about 80,000l. to public purpoſes; 50,000l. of which he would recommend to be employed in the completion of the grand canal reaching from the Frith of Forth to that of Clyde."

This liberal meaſure was received in a manner that did honour to the feelings of the houſe. Mr. Fox, in particular, with his uſual generoſity, beſtowed upon it the higheſt encomiums. Nevertheleſs when the bill was ſent to the lords, it met with a moſt determined reſiſtance from the lord chancellor, who expatiated on that maxim of ancient wiſdom, which pronounced treaſon to be a crime of ſo deep a dye, that nothing leſs was adequate to its puniſhment, than the total eradication of the perſon, the name, and the family, out of the community. Fortunately on dividing the houſe, this nobleman was left in a diſgraceful minority, and to the entire ſatisfaction of the public the bill paſſed.

An end was put to the ſeſſion Auguſt 20, 1784, the king returning his warmeſt thanks to the two houſes, for their zealous and diligent attention to the public ſervice. He predicted the happieſt effects from the bill for the better government of India. He ſpoke in terms of the higheſt approbation of the laws enacted for the improvement of the revenue. He thanked his faithful commons of their proviſion for the arrears of the civil liſt; deploring at the ſame time in the uſual ſtyle, the *unavoidable burthens* impoſed upon his people. He noticed the definitive treaty with Holland, and the peace concluded in India; and truſted, from the aſſurances of foreign powers, that the preſent tranquillity would prove of permanent duration.

1785. The parliament of Great Britain aſſembled for its ſecondſeſſion on the 25th of January. The meaſure on this occaſion, chiefly recommended in the ſpeech from the throne, was the adjuſtment of ſuch points in the commercial intercourſe between this country and Ireland, as were not yet finally arranged.

Mr. Pitt, as he had pledged himſelf to do it, brought forwards his plan of reform on the 18th of April; in his introductory ſpeech, he ſaid that there never was a moment when the minds of men were more enlightened on this intereſting topic, or more prepared for its diſcuſſion. He declared his preſent plan of reform to be perfectly coincident with the ſpirit of thoſe changes which had taken place in the exerciſe of the elective franchiſe from the earlieſt ages, and not in the leaſt allied to the ſpirit of innovation. So far back as the reign of Edward I. before which the component orders of the repreſentative body could not be diſtinctly traced, the franchiſe of election had been conſtantly fluctuating. As one borough decayed and another flouriſhed, the firſt was aboliſhed and the ſecond inveſted with the right. Even the repreſentation of the counties had not been uniform. James I. in his proclamation for calling a parliament, directed that the ſheriffs ſhould not call upon ſuch boroughs as were decayed and ruined to ſend members to parliament. For this diſcretion, as veſted in the crown, he was certainly no advocate; but he wiſhed to eſtabliſh a permanent rule to operate like the diſcretion out of which the conſtitution had ſprung. He wiſhed, he ſaid, " to bring forward a plan that ſhould be complete, gradual, and permanent; a plan that not only corrected the inequalities of the preſent ſyſtem, but which would be competent to preſerve the purity it reſtored, and give to the conſtitution not only ly conſiſtency, but if poſſible immortality. It was his deſign that the actual number of the houſe of commons ſhould be preſerved inviolate. His immediate object was to ſelect a certain number of the decayed and rotten boroughs, the right of repreſentation attached to thirty-ſix of which, ſhould be transferred to the counties, in ſuch proportions as the wiſdom of parliment might preſcribe; and that all unneceſſary harſhneſs might be avoided, he recommended the appropriation of a fund of one million to be applied to the purchaſing the franchiſe of ſuch boroughs, on their voluntary application to parliament. When this was effected, he propoſed to extend the bill to the purchaſing the franchiſe of other boroughs, beſides the original thirty-ſix; and to transfer the right of returning members to large towns, hitherto unrepreſented, upon their petitioning parliament to be indulged with this privilege." The other moſt important particulars of Mr. Pitt's plan, were the admitting of copy-holders to an equality with free-holders, and the extending the franchiſe in populous towns, where the electors were few, to the inhabitants in general. The reſult of the miniſter's plan was to give one hundred members to the popular intereſt in the kingdom, and to extend the right of election to one hundred thouſand perſons, who by the exiſting proviſions of the law, were excluded from the privilege.—This plan, which was admitted on all hands to be cautious, temperate, and well-digeſted, was nevertheleſs rejected by a majority of 248 to 175 voices. To thoſe who know that a miniſter can command a majority almoſt upon any queſtion; to thoſe who conſider that this was a meaſure very favourable to the people, and propoſed by a miniſter in the height of popularity and favour; to ſuch I ſay, it will appear, that this queſtion was never intended to be carried.

But the ſubject, which of all others chiefly engaged the attention of parliament during the preſent ſeſſion, was the projected plan of commercial intercourſe with Ireland. This new ſyſtem was firſt introduced into the parliament of Ireland on the 7th of February, by Mr. Orde, ſecretary to the lord lieutenant, in the form of ten propoſitions; but, by a ſlight alteration, they were at laſt increaſed to eleven. In this ſtate they received the final aſſent of the parliament of Ireland, on the 16th of February. On the 22d of the ſame month Mr. Pitt brought the ſubject before the Britiſh houſe of commons. The immenſe magnitude of the plan, the multiplicity and complexity of the objects it embraced, ſeemed to keep the public mind in a kind of ſuſpenſe; and for near a month after its firſt introduction, there were no indications diſcernible of ſerious or determined oppoſition. However, about the middle of March, the ſpirit of commercial jealouſy appeared to be thoroughly awakened. The propoſitions were really (and laudably) favourable to Ireland. The petitions preſented againſt the meaſure therefore in the Engliſh nation, amounted in the whole to upwards of ſixty; and there were ſcarcely a ſingle ſpecies of manufacture or merchandiſe upon the ſubject of which, the perſons peculiarly intereſted had not received conſiderable alarm. From the 16th of March to the 12th of May, the houſe of commons were almoſt inceſſantly employed in the hearing of counſel, and the examination of witneſſes. In conſequence of this long and able inveſtigation, many additional lights were thrown upon the ſubject; and Mr. Pitt was compelled to acknowledge the neceſſity of making ſome material alterations and amendments in his original plan.

Accordingly, on the 12th of May, the miniſter brought forward a ſeries of propoſitions, ſo altered, modified, and enlarged, as to exhibit in their improved form, what might well be conſidered as a new ſyſtem. On this occaſion, a debate enſued which laſted until eight o'clock in the morning, when the firſt reſolution, broken into two diſtinct propoſitions in the new arrangement, paſſed the houſe. The remaining reſolutions were ſubſequently carried, after a moſt obſtinate and violent conteſt, and on the 30th of May were ſent up to the houſe of lords. Here they were again the ſubject of long and laborious inveſtigation; in the courſe of which, various amendments were offered and received by the houſe. At laſt, on the 19th of July, the reſolutions in their altered ſtate were ſent down from the lords to the commons; where, after much freſh and eager debate, the amendments of their lordſhips were agreed to by the commons; and on the 28th of July, an addreſs was preſented to the king by both houſes of parliament, acquainting his majeſty with the ſteps which had been taken in this important affair; adding, "that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge of the conditions according to their wiſdom and diſcretion, as well as of every other part of the ſettlement propoſed to be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent." The two houſes now adjourned themſelves to a diſtant day, and on the 30th of September 1785, the parliament was prorogued by royal proclamation.

If the original propoſitions adopted by the Iriſh legiſlature were rejected by the Britiſh parliament, the Engliſh ſeries of propoſitions proved ſtill more obnoxious to the general ſpirit of the Iriſh nation. A number of preſſing circumſtances, however, in the relative ſituation of the two kingdoms, rendered ſome ſuch experiment at this time abſolutely neceſſary. It was a fact completely aſcertained, that the free trade gained to Ireland had not been productive of thoſe advantages which its ſanguine friends had ſo often predicted. To promote, therefore, the mutual intereſt of England and Ireland, to regulate the commercial intercourſe between both countries on equal principles, were the objects the *original* propoſitions proteſted to have in view; and the philanthropiſt will certainly lament, that a ſcheme of ſo liberal and generous an aſpect, ſhould be defeated by the ſpirit of mercantile jealouſy. This diſpoſition ſo fully diſplayed itſelf, while the propoſitions were pending in the Britiſh parliament, that almoſt every individual, in any ſhape intereſted in trade, ſeemed to conſider the ſucceſs of that meaſure, and his own ruin, as ultimately and inſeparably connected. The ſiſter kingdom, however, it muſt be confeſſed, in the rejection of the plan tranſmitted from England, was actuated by higher and nobler motives. Ireland, by long ſtruggles, had at laſt eſtabliſhed the independence of her legiſlature; and finding that the fourth propoſition ſtruck at that independence, the parliament, jealous of their infant liberty, and almoſt without glancing at the commercial features of the proffered ſyſtem, peremptorily rejected the whole on that ground, with juſt and manly indignation. Public illuminations in the populous towns of Ireland teſtified the general joy excited by the ſudden termination of a buſineſs which was originally intended to communicate both to England and Ireland, ſolid and laſting advantages; but, from the iſſue, appears to have been deſtined by a ſingular fate to rouze commercial jealouſies, to awaken national prejudices, to provoke where it was intended to conciliate, to inflame reſentment where it was expected to challenge gratitude, and to diſturb the public tranquillity of both kingdoms more, perhaps, than any preceding meaſure of the preſent reign.

1786. The parliament of Great Britain met on the 24th of January. In the ſpeech from the throne, the king declared to the houſe of commons, his earneſt wiſh to enforce œconomy in every department; recommending to them the maintenance of our naval ſtrength on the moſt reſpectable footing; and above all, the eſtabliſhment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt. Nothing very material occurred until near the middle of February, when a ſubject of the higheſt conſequence attracted the attention of both parliament, and the public: this was the plan of fortifications, originally ſuggeſted by the Duke of Richmond. As a matter of revenue, it had been the deſign to vote for this purpoſe, 50,000l. per ann. till the whole ſhould be completed, or ſhould be brought into a condition of conſiderable forwardneſs. But this deſign was interrupted laſt ſeſſion, in conſequence of a ſuggeſtion of Colonel Barré, "that a board of land and ſea officers ought to be appointed to examine the merits of the ſyſtem." This idea having been pretty generally adopted by the houſe, Mr. Pitt not only agreed, that no money ſhould be then voted for the purpoſe, but alſo that the 50,000l. granted in the year 1784, for that ſervice, and not yet expended, ſhould be reſerved till the matter had undergone a complete inveſtigation. In conformity with this agreement, a board of officers was appointed on the 13th of April 1785; and on the 24th of June following, they made their report to the king.

This buſineſs was again brought before parliament, in the preſent ſeſſion, on the 10th of February; when Mr. Pitt ſtated the report of the board of land and ſea officers, to be in the higheſt degree favourable to the plan of fortification, ſubmitted to their deciſion, but the report itſelf he declined laying before the houſe, as a matter of too ſerious and delicate a nature for public inſpection. The diſcontent manifeſted when the queſtion was laſt year under diſcuſſion, now roſe into the warmth of indignation. "If the report, or the eſſentials it contained, were not to be in ſome mode ſubject to the inſpection of the houſe, they were, it was affirmed, in exactly the ſame ſituation in which they had ſtood before the board was appointed. They muſt decide, not upon their own judgments, but in deference to the authority of the miniſter. But the houſe of commons were not juſtified in voting away the money of their conſtituents upon the grounds of paſſive complaiſance, and courtly ſubmiſſion. The expence attending this novel ſyſtem would be enormous, and it was at leaſt their duty before they adopted it, to be fully convinced of its neceſſity." General Burgoyne, who was one of the board, controverted the aſſertion of Mr. Pitt reſpecting the entire approbation expreſſed by them of the ſyſtem in queſtion.

Mr. Pitt waved the farther diſcuſſion of the queſtion at preſent, but declared his intention of bringing it again before the houſe in a ſhort time, in the moſt ſpecific and ſolemn manner. Accordingly, in about a fortnight after, he moved the following reſolution; "That it appears to the houſe, that to provide effectually for ſecuring the dock yards of Portſmouth and Plymouth by a permanent ſyſtem of fortification, was an eſſential object for the ſafety of the ſtate, &c. &c." On this occaſion a violent debate aroſe, in the courſe of which, Mr. Sheridan eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an enemy to the meaſure. "When we talked of a conſtitutional jealouſy of the military power of the crown, what was the real object," he aſked, "to which we pointed our ſuſpicion? What, but that it was in the nature of kings to love power, and in the conſtitution of armies to obey kings. This doubtleſs was plain ſpeaking upon a delicate ſubject, but the nature of the queſtion demanded it. In this point of view, would no ſtreſs be laid on the great and important diſtinction, to be drawn, between troops elected and ſeparated from their fellow citizens in garriſons and forts, and men living ſcattered and entangled in all the common duties and connections of their countrymen? The fact was, that theſe ſtrong military holds, if maintained as they muſt be in peace, by full and diſciplined garriſons would in truth, promiſe ten-fold the means of curbing and ſubduing the country, than could ariſe even from doubling the preſent army eſtabliſhment, with this extraordinay aggravation, that thoſe very naval ſtores and magazines, the ſeeds and ſources of future navies, the effectual preſervation of which was the pretence for theſe unaſſailable ſortreſſes, would, in that caſe, become a pledge and hoſtage in the hands of the crown: a circumſtance which, in a country like this, muſt inſure unconditional ſubmiſſion to the moſt extravagant claims that deſpotiſm could dictate. Could any one poſſibly imagine that the ſyſtem now recommended was to end with Portſmouth and Plymouth, and that the reaſonings of the miniſter would not apply to other parts of the kingdom? No—we were to figure to ourſelves the ſame board of officers, acting under the ſame inſtructions, going a circuit round the coaſts of the kingdom. It was not poſſible for the houſe to remain at a loſs to diſcover various places beſides Chatham and Sheerneſs where extenſive lines had actually been begun, under the auſpices of the Duke of Richmond, which muſt neceſſarily be provided for according to the new ſyſtem."

It was thought by many to be impoſſible that a man of Mr. Pitt's diſcernment could be the ſincere and cordial advocate of ſo prepoſterous a ſcheme; and it was even mentioned in the houſe, by one of his friends, as a topic of report, that in this buſineſs he was ſuſpected of acting againſt his own opinion: however this may be, certain it is, that he found himſelf on this occaſion very generally deſerted by the country gentlemen; and the diviſion was rendered memorable by an exact equality of numbers, both the ayes and the noes amounting to 169. The ſpeaker, being of courſe compelled to give his caſting vote, acquired much applauſe, by declaring for the rejection of this chimerical, extravagant, and dangerous, ſyſtem.

The ſubject which the miniſter ſeemed to intend ſhould make the principal figure in this ſeſſion of parliament, was the propoſal of a ſinking fund for the liquidation of the national debt. On the 7th of March, Mr. Pitt moved for the appointment, by ballot, of a ſelect committee of nine perſons, to report to the houſe the ſtate of the public revenue and expenditure. The reſult of their enquiry was laid before the houſe on the 21ſt of the ſame month; and proved in the higheſt degree pleaſing and ſatisfactory. The amount of the revenue for the current year was eſtimated by the committee, at 15,397,000l. The permanent expenditure, including the civil liſt, and the intereſts payable on the different funds, amounted to 10,554,000l. The peace eſtabliſhment, allowing eighteen thouſand men for the navy, and the uſual complement of ſeventy regiments for the army, excluſive of life-guards and cavalry, was eſtimated at 3,924,000l. In all, 14,478,000l. of conſequence there remained a ſurplus of more than 900,000l. The propoſition which he now ſubmitted to the houſe was, the appropriation of the annual ſum of 1,000,000l. to be invariably applied to the liquidation of the national debt: but as the ſurplus revenue amounted to only 900,000l. Mr. Pitt moved for an additional duty on ſpirits, on certain kinds of timber imported, and on perfumery, which would be together more than ſufficient to make up the deficiency. This annual million Mr. Pitt propoſed to veſt in the hands of certain commiſſioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purchaſe of ſtock; ſo that no ſum ſhould ever lie within the graſp large enough to tempt him to violate this ſacred depoſit. The intereſts annually diſcharged were, conformably to this plan, to be added to, and incorporated with the original fund, ſo that it would operate with a determinate and accelerated velocity. This fund was alſo to be aſſiſted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would from time to time fall in within the limited period of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which, Mr. Pitt calculated that the fund would produce an income of four millions per annum. The commiſſioners to be nominated under the act, were the chancellor of the exchequer,

quer, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, the maſter of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the bank of England, and the accomptant-general of the high court of chancery. The only amendment of any material conſequence ſuggeſted on Mr. Pitt's plan was, in the progreſs of the bill, offered by Mr. Fox, "that whenever a new loan ſhould hereafter be made, the commiſſioners ſhould be empowered to accept the loan, or ſuch proportion of it, as ſhould be equal to the caſh then in their hands; the intereſt and *douceur* annexed to which ſhould be applied to the purpoſes of the ſinking fund." This amendment was readily and candidly accepted by Mr. Pitt, and the bill finally paſſed with great and deſerved approbation.

Notwithſtanding the acknowledged neceſſity of œconomy in every department of government, it is truely painful to relate, that even before the ſinking-fund bill paſſed into a law, a meſſage from the king to the houſe of commons was delivered by the miniſter, ſtating, "that it gave him *great* concern to inform them, that it had not been found poſſible to confine the expences of the civil liſt within the annual ſum of 850,000l. now applicable to that purpoſe. A farther debt had been neceſſarily incurred, and the king replied on the zeal and affection of his parliament to make proviſion for its diſcharge." When the laſt demand of this ſort was made in July 1784, for the ſum of 60,000l. Mr. Pitt reſted his defence on the ground that the debt was contracted before he came laſt into office; but in ſupport of the motion grounded on this meſſage, he found it neceſſary to advance very different reaſons. On this occaſion, he ſtated "that under Mr. Burke's reform bill an annual reduction of 50,000l. from the civil liſt had been ſet apart by parliament for the liquidation by inſtalments of the ſum of 300,000l. then iſſued in exchequer bills for the ſupply of former deficiencies. Of this debt, 180,000l.

yet remained unpaid, and a freſh debt of 30,000l. had accrued: and he juſtified the demand of a grant equal to theſe united ſums upon this curious dilemma: either parliament had, at the period referred to, directed that when the propoſed liquidation ſhould be effected the civil liſt ſhould be allowed 50,000l. per annum *more than was neceſſary*, or it was then put upon a footing of 50,000l. per annum *leſs than was neceſſary*. Experience had proved the latter to be the caſe; and therefore it was reaſonable to expect that the ſum of 210,000l. now wanting to clear off the old and new incumbrances, would be voted without heſitation." This application was the more extraordinary, as at the opening of the ſeſſion of December 1782, and when Mr. Pitt was chancellor of the exchequer, the king in his ſpeech from the throne had ſaid, "I have carried into ſtrict execution the ſeveral reductions in my civil liſt expences directed by an act of laſt ſeſſion; I have introduced a farther reform in other departments, and ſuppreſſed ſeveral ſinecure places in them. I have by this means ſo regulated my eſtabliſhments, that *my expences ſhall not in future exceed my income*." It was in the courſe of the diſcuſſion obſerved, that the neceſſity of the times rendered œconomy in every part of the public expenditure indiſpenſably neceſſary. All ranks of people ought to make it their firſt object, and it was the duty of the crown in particular to ſet the example. It was alſo urged, that while Mr. Burke's bill remained in full force, it was truly aſtoniſhing to come down in the face of an act of parliament, and call upon that houſe to vote money for the debts of the crown. It is almoſt ſuperfluous to ſay, that all the arguments offered on this head proved a mere waſte of words, and that the money was ultimately voted. This was not a queſtion like parliamentary reform or the Duke of Richmond's fortifications.

On the 2d of Auguſt, after the riſing of parliament,

ment, a ſingular incident occurred, which engroſſed for a ſhort time the attention of the public. As the king was alighting from his poſt-chariot, at the garden entrance of St. James's palace, a woman decently dreſſed preſented a paper to his majeſty: and while he was in the act of receiving it, ſhe ſtruck with a concealed knife at his breaſt. The king happily avoided the blow by drawing back; and, as ſhe was preparing to make a ſecond thruſt, one of the yeoman caught her arm, and the weapon was wrenched out of her hand. The king with great temper exclaimed, "I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman, do not hurt her." On examination before the privy council, it immediately appeared that the woman was inſane. Being aſked where ſhe had lately reſided, ſhe anſwered frantically, "That ſhe had been all abroad ſince that matter of the crown broke out." Being farther queſtioned what matter? ſhe ſaid, "That the crown was her's; and that if ſhe had not her right, England would be deluged in blood for a thouſand generations." On being interrogated as to the nature of her right, ſhe refuſed to anſwer, ſaying in the genuine ſtyle of royalty, "That her rights were a myſtery." It appeared that this poor maniac, whoſe name was Margaret Nicholſon, had preſented a petition ten days before, full of wild and incoherent nonſenſe. Like moſt other petitions, it had probably never been read, or the perſon of the petitioner would have been ſecured. The idea of a judicial proceſs was of courſe abandoned, and ſhe was conſigned to an apartment provided for her in Bethleham hoſpital.

In the month of September, the king was pleaſed to appoint a new committee of council for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations. Of this board, the famous Charles Jenkinſon, now created Lord Hawſkeſbury. and conſtituted chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, was declared preſident. Under the auſpices of this new commiſſion, a treaty of commerce was, on September the 26th, ſigned between the courts of England and France. Its general principle was to admit the mutual importation and exportation of the commodities of each country at a very low *ad valorem* duty.

About the ſame time a convention was ſigned with Spain of ſome importance, as it finally terminated the long ſubſiſting diſputes reſpecting the Britiſh ſettlements on the Moſquito ſhore and the coaſt of Honduras. By the preſent treaty, the Moſquito ſettlements were formally and explicity relinquiſhed, as they had already virtually been by the ſixth article of the general treaty of 1783. In return, the boundaries of the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt and bay of Honduras were ſomewhat extended. In a political view this convention anſwered a valuable purpoſe, as it removed a probable ſource of national diſagreement. But the claims of humanity and juſtice were not ſufficiently attended to: for the Moſquito ſettlers, who had for time immemorial occupied their lands and habitations under the protection of the Engliſh government, and who amounted to many hundred families in number, were peremptorily commanded to evacuate the country without exception, in the ſpace of eighteen months, nothing farther being ſtipulated in their favour, than that his catholic majeſty "ſhall order his governors to grant to the ſaid Engliſh, ſo diſperſed, all poſſible facilities for their removal to the ſettlements agreed upon by the preſent convention." The greateſt confuſion, conſternation, and diſtreſs, among this unhappy people, were the inevitable conſequences of this barbarous edict of expulſion, which with the cold-blooded politicians of Europe, at the diſtance of 3,000 miles, paſſed only for a regulation of commerce. An affecting repreſentation of their diſtreſſes, and an humble petition for ſome ſort of indemnification from the government which had thus abandoned them to their fate, was preſented to the board of treaſury; but it does not appear to have excited any attention.

1787. The parliament re-aſſembled on the 23d of January; and in this ſeſſion the Prince of Wales's debts came under conſideration. When his royal highneſs attained the age of majority, in 1783, the ſum of 50,000l. per ann. only was allotted to him out of the civil liſt revenue, to defray the whole expence of his eſtabliſhment. Conſidering the numerous ſalaries payable to the officers of his houſehold, this ſum was clearly inadequate to the ſupport of his rank and ſituation in life; and the then miniſters, Mr. Fox and Lord North, ſtrongly inſiſted upon the neceſſity of fixing the revenue of the prince at 100,000l. per ann. which the late king had enjoyed as Prince of Wales, at a period when the civil liſt produced 200,000l. per ann. leſs than at preſent. To this the ſovereign objected; and the prince, to prevent diſagreeable conſequences, generouſly declared that he choſe to depend on the ſpontaneous bounty of the king. The obvious reſult of this miſerable œconomy was, that the prince in the four years which were now elapſed had contracted debts to a large amount. The public, not ſufficiently adverting to theſe circumſtances, cenſured the prince with a too rigid ſeverity for the heedleſſneſs and prodigality of his conduct. It was however too notorious to admit of diſguiſe or palliation, that the prince was exempt from none of thoſe youthful indiſcretions and exceſſes by which men of high rank in early life are for the moſt part ſo unhappily characteriſed.

The Prince of Wales, like moſt other young men, had been more diſtinguiſhed by a general regard to the fair ſex than for any particular individual attachment. A report however of a ſerious nature had for ſome time paſt gained very general credit; namely, that the prince had contracted a ſecret marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady celebrated for perſonal beauty and mental accompliſhments. That the prince ſhould not be privately married, was an event particularly guarded againſt by the royal marriage act. By this act it was declared that the heir apparent was incapable of marrying till the age of twenty-five years, without his father's conſent, or, in caſe of refuſal, without the conſent of both houſes of parliament. The marriage therefore, if it had taken place, was null in law. But this was by no means the circumſtance which made the greateſt impreſſion upon the public mind. The lady was educated in the Roman-catholic religion; and the act of ſettlement which ſeated the houſe of Brunſwick on the Britiſh throne, expreſsly declared the prince who married a papiſt to have forfeited his right of ſucceſſion to the crown. To add to the difficulties of a ſituation in the higheſt degree trying and critical, the prince found his embarraſſments continually increaſing, and a large debt already accumulated. In the ſummer therefore of 1786, the prince applied to the king, his father, for aſſiſtance; but meeting with a peremptory refuſal, he immediately adopted a reſolution for ſuppreſſing the eſtabliſhment of his houſehold; and he formally veſted 40,000l. per ann. of his revenue in the hands of truſtees for the liquidation of his debts. His ſtud of running horſes, his hunters, and even his coach-horſes, were ſold by public auction. The elegant improvements and additions making to the palace of Carlton houſe were ſuddenly ſtopped, and the moſt ſplendid apartments ſhut up from uſe.

The prince had lived in a ſtate of retirement for near a twelvemonth, when he was perſuaded to countenance a propoſal for laying the ſtate of his affairs before parliament; and on the 20th of April 1787, Mr. Alderman Newnham, member for the city of London, gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for an addreſs to the king, praying him to take the ſituation of the prince into conſideration, and to grant him ſuch relief as he in his wiſdom ſhould think fit, and pledging the houſe to make good the ſame.

This gave riſe to an intereſting converſation; and Mr. Newnham was, by the miniſter and many other members, earneſtly entreated to withdraw his motion, as fertile of inconvenience and miſchief. Mr. Pitt ſaid, "that by the perſeverance of Mr. Newnham, he ſhould be driven to the diſcloſure of circumſtances which he ſhould otherwiſe have thought it his duty to conceal." Mr. Rolle, member for Devonſhire, declared, "that the inveſtigation of this queſtion involved in it circumſtances which tended immediately to affect the conſtitution in church and ſtate." Being urged by Mr. Sheridan, and other gentleman in the confidence of the prince, to explain himſelf, Mr. Rolle thought proper to acknowledge, that the matter to which he alluded, as affecting both church and ſtate, was the marriage of the prince. He ſaid, "that the reports relative to this tranſaction had made a deep impreſſion upon the minds of all men who loved and venerated the conſtitution. He knew that this thing could not have been accompliſhed under the formal ſanction of law; but, if it exiſted as a fact, it might be productive of the moſt alarming conſequences, and ought to be ſatisfactorily cleared up." Mr. Fox replied, "that he did not deny the calumny in queſtion, merely with regard to the effect of certain exiſting laws, but he denied it *in toto*, in fact as well as in law. The fact not only could never have happened legally, but never did happen any way, and had, from the beginning, been a vile and malignant falſehood." Mr. Rolle roſe again, and aſked, "whether in what he now aſſerted Mr. Fox ſpoke from direct authority?" Mr. Fox ſaid, he had ſpoken from direct authority.

In this ſtage of the buſineſs an interview, at the deſire of the king, took place between the Prince of Wales and Mr. Pitt at Carlton-houſe; and the prince was informed, "that if the intended motion were withdrawn, every thing might be ſettled to his royal highneſs's ſatisfaction." This being acceded to, a meſſage was delivered by the miniſter from the king to the houſe, ſtating his majeſty's great concern, " that from the accounts of the Prince of Wales, it appeared that he had incurred a debt to a large amount, which, painful as it was to him to propoſe any addition to the burthens of his people, he was induced, by his paternal affection to the prince, to deſire the aſſiſtance of parliament to diſcharge—on the well-grounded expectation, nevertheleſs, that the prince would avoid contracting any debts in future; with a view to which, the king had directed a ſum of 10,000l. to be paid out of the civil liſt, in addition to his former allowance; and he had the ſatisfaction to obſerve, that the prince had given the fulleſt aſſurance of his determination to confine his future expences within his income, and had ſettled a plan, and fixed an order in thoſe expences, which it was truſted would effect the due execution of his intentions." On the very next day after the accounts referred to in the royal meſſage were laid before the houſe, and of which the dignified generoſity of parliament ſuffered not the inſpection, an addreſs was voted to the king, to requeſt him to direct the ſum of 161,000l. to be paid out of the civil liſt for the full diſcharge of the debts of the Prince of Wales, and the farther ſum of 20,000l. to complete the repairs of Carlton-houſe.

The ſubject of Mr. Haſtings's impeachment had been reſumed early in the preſent ſeſſion, and had occupied a large proportion of time and attention. On the 9th of May, the report made by Mr. Burke from the committee, to whom it had been referred to prepare the articles of impeachment, was confirmed by the houſe, ayes 175, noes 89. On the following day it was voted, that Mr. Haſtings be impeached: and Mr. Burke accordingly, in the name of the houſe of commons, and of all the commons of Great Britain, repaired to the bar of the houſe of lords, and impeached Mr. Haſtings of high crimes and miſdemeanors; at the ſame time acquainting their lordſhips, that the commons would, with all convenient ſpeed, exhibit articles againſt him, and make good the ſame. On the 21ſt, Mr. Haſtings, being conducted to the bar of the houſe of lords by the ſerjeant at arms, was taken into the cuſtody of the black rod; but on the motion of the Lord Chancellor was admitted to bail—himſelf in 20,000l, and two ſureties, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Summer, in 10,000l. each; and he was ordered to deliver in an anſwer to the articles of impeachment in one month from that time, or upon the ſecond day of the next ſeſſion of parliament.

During the receſs of parliament, the attention of government was particularly attracted by the troubled ſtate of Holland. In the autumn of the year 1787, the diſſenſions which had long ſubſiſted between the ſtadtholder and the ſtates of Holland, had riſen to an alarming height, and the ultimate event of the conteſt ſeemed to depend greatly on the forbearance or interpoſition of foreign nations. The French were known to be friendly to the ſtates of Holland, but they were too deeply engaged by their domeſtic ſituation to be able to render them any effectual aſſiſtance. On the other hand, the cauſe of the ſtadtholder was warmly eſpouſed by the king of Pruſſia, in conjunction with Great Britain. From the commencement of the conteſt, the incapacity and intractability of the Prince of Orange had been very apparent. Head of the houſe of Naſſau, he diſplayed neither the talents nor virtues which had for ages been ſuppoſed attached to that illuſtrious name. The princeſs, his conſort, was ſaid to poſſeſs a much larger ſhare of ſpirit as well as underſtanding. In the month of June 1787, for reaſons which have never perfectly tranſpired, her royal highneſs, then reſident at Nimeguen, adopted the bold and hazardous reſolution of proceeding in perſon to the Hague, where the ſtates general were at that time aſſembled, accompanied only by the Baroneſs de Waſſanaer and a few domeſtics. As might previouſly be expected, ſhe was arreſted in her progreſs at about a league beyond Schoonhoven, and forced back to Nimeguen. If the King of Pruſſia recommended this journey with a view of drawing from it, as was generally believed, ſome plauſible ground of interfering in behalf of the houſe of Orange, it fully anſwered his intention, for this incident brought matters to a criſis. On the 10th of July a memorial was addreſſed by the Pruſſian monarch to the ſtates of Holland, in which he affected to conſider the indignity offered to the Princeſs of Orange, his ſiſter, as a perſonal inſult to himſelf. To avenge this pretended affront, the Duke of Brunſwick, who commanded the Pruſſian forces in the contiguous duchy of Cleves, entered Holland at the head of an army conſiſting of about twenty thouſand men on the 13th of September. Notwithſtanding the previous probability of this invaſion, the conſternation of the Dutch nation was extreme, and the country ſeemed every where unprepared for reſiſtance. Utrecht, beyond all other cities of the union diſtinguiſhed by the violence of her democratic zeal, ſurrenderred almoſt as ſoon as ſummoned. The march of the Pruſſian general bore the appearance of a triumphal proceſſion. While a futile reſolve to ſuſpend the office of ſtadtholder paſſed the ſenate of Amſterdam, Gorcum, Dordt, Schoonhoven and other towns in his route, ſubmitted tamely to the conqueror. On the ſeventh day from the commencement of the invaſion, the Prince of Orange made his public entry into the Hague. Amſterdam only made a ſhow of reſiſtance; but on the 10th of October that proud capital, now cloſely inveſted, opened its gates to the victor. To the aſtoniſhment of the world, that republic which maintained a conteſt of eighty years againſt the power of Spain; which contended for the empire of the ocean with Great Britain; which repulſed the attacks of Louis XIV. in the zenith of his glory; was over-run by the arms of Pruſſia in a ſingle month.

In conſequence of theſe tranſactions, it was found neceſſary to aſſemble the parliament of Great Britain ſomewhat earlier than is uſual in time of peace; and, the ſeſſion having commenced on the 27th of November, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, remarked, "that at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion he had informed them of the concern with which he obſerved the diſputes unhappily ſubſiſting in the republic of the united provinces. Their ſituation ſoon afterwards became more critical and alarming. The King of Pruſſia having demanded ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the Princeſs of Orange his ſiſter, the party which had uſurped the government applied to the moſt chriſtian king for aſſiſtance; and, that prince having notified to his majeſty his intention of granting their requeſt, the king did not heſitate to declare that he could not remain a quiet ſpectator, and gave immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by ſea and land; and, in the courſe of this tranſaction, he had concluded a ſubſidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. In the mean time the rapid ſucceſs of the Duke of Brunſwick enabled the provinces to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſion under which they laboured; and all ſubjects of conteſt being thus removed, an amicable explanation had taken place between the courts of London and Verſailles."

In a ſhort time treaties of alliance were concluded between the courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague; by which the two former guaranteed the ſtadtholderate in perpetuity to the houſe of Orange, as an eſſential part of the conſtitution of the United Provinces. By the treaty between the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, each of the high contracting powers engages, in caſe of attack, to furniſh the other with a ſuccour of 20,000 men, or an equivalent in money, within two months from the date of the requiſition. Thus was Britain once more fatally entangled in the intricate and inextricable toils of continental engagements.

1788. In the early part of the ſeſſion, Mr. Haſtings had delivered in his anſwer to the impeachment of the commons, who immediately appointed a committee of managers to make good the ſame, and the trial commenced on the 16th of February, 1788, in Weſtminſter-hall, which was fitted up for the purpoſe with great magnificence. Our readers will not expect us to enter into the merits of a trial which laſted till the 23d of April 1795. He was acquitted.

The laſt buſineſs of importance which engaged the attention of parliament, was a bill to regulate the tranſportation of ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa to the Weſt Indies. This bill, which was intended merely to eſtabliſh a certain reaſonable proportion between the number of the ſlaves and the tonnage of the ſhips, was violently and obſtinately oppoſed by petitions from the merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the African trade. Counſel being therefore engaged and witneſſes examined, it appeared in evidence at the bar of the houſe, that five feet ſix inches in length, and ſixteen inches in breadth, was the average ſpace allotted to each ſlave; the lower deck of the veſſel was entirely covered with bodies; the ſpace between the floor of that deck and the roof above, in height about five feet eight inches, was divided by a platform, alſo covered with human bodies: the ſlaves were chained two and two by their hands and feet, and by means of ring-bolts faſtened to the deck; in that ſultry climate their allowance was a pint of water each per day; and they were uſually fed twice a-day with yams and horſe-beans; after meals they were compelled by the whip to jump in their irons, which by thoſe unfeeling monſters the ſlave dealers was called dancing. They had not, as was emphatically ſtated, when ſtowed together, ſo much room as a man in his coffin, either in length or breadth. The cuſtomary mortality of the voyage exceeded ſeventeen times the uſual eſtimate of human life. A ſlave-ſhip when full fraught with this cargo of wretchedneſs and abomination, exhibited at once the extremes of human depravity and human miſery. In reviewing this ſuperlatively wicked and deteſtable traffic, Mr. Pitt with indignant eloquence declared, "that if, as had been aſſerted by the members of Liverpool, the trade could not be carried on in any other manner, he would retract what he had ſaid on a former day and waving every farther diſcuſſion, give his inſtant vote for the annihilation of a traffic thus ſhocking to humanity. He truſted that the houſe being now in poſſeſſion of ſuch evidence as was never before exhibited, would endeavour to extricate themſelves from the guilt and remorſe which every man ought to feel for having ſo long over-looked ſuch cruelty and oppreſſion."—The bill was carried up to the houſe of lords, where it was fated to encounter the determined oppoſition of Lord Thurlow. His lordſhip ſaid that the bill was full of inconſiſtency and nonſenſe. The French had lately offered premiums to encourage the African trade, and the natural preſumption was, that we ought to do the ſame. The Duke of Chandos ventured to predict a general inſurrection of the negroes in the Weſt Indies in conſequence of the preſent queſtion: and Lord Sidney, who had once ranked amongſt the friends of liberty, expreſſed in warm terms his *admiration of the ſyſtem of ſlave laws eſtabliſhed in Jamaica, and ſaw no room for any improvement.* The bill, however, had a number of friends; and, to the honour of parliament, the nation, and human nature, finally paſſed by a conſiderable majority.

Soon after the receſs of parliament, the king, who had been for ſome time rather indiſpoſed, was adviſed by his phyſicians to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham. His majeſty accordingly took a journey to that place, and, as was reported, drank the waters in too profuſe a quantity. His health appeared, nevertheleſs, during his reſidence there, greatly eſtabliſhed;

but

but ſoon after his arrival at Windſor, late in the ſummer, his illneſs returned with new and alarming ſymptoms. By the end of October, it could no longer be concealed that the malady of the king was of a nature peculiarly afflictive and dreadful. A mental derangement had taken place, which rendered him totally incapable of public buſineſs. The parliament ſtood prorogued to the 20th of November, and on the 14th of that month circular letters were addreſſed to the members of the legiſlature, ſignifying that the in diſpoſition of the ſovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a poſſibility of receiving his commands for the further prorogation of parliament. If not, in that caſe the two houſes muſt of neceſſity aſſemble, and the attendance of the different members was earneſtly requeſted. Parliament being accordingly aſſembled, the ſtate of the king's health was formally notified to the houſe of peers by the Lord Chancellor, and to the commons by Mr. Pitt: and as the ſeſſion of parliament could not be opened in the regular mode, an adjournment of fourteen days was recommended and adopted. Upon the re-aſſembling of parliament, on the 4th of December, a report of the board of privy council was preſented to the two houſes, containing an examination of the royal phyſicians; and it was properly ſuggeſted, that now was the time to ſettle in what manner the buſineſs of the nation ſhould proceed in caſe his majeſty ſhould for any conſiderable time remain incapable of reſuming his functions. Mr. Fox advanced as a propoſition, deducible from the principles of the conſtitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary ſucceſſion, that, whenever the ſovereign was incapable of exerciſing the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indiſputable a claim to the exerciſe of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the ſovereign, during his incapacity, as in the caſe of his natural demiſe." Mr. Pitt immediately roſe with much apparent warmth, and declared, "that the aſſertion which had been made by Mr. Fox was little ſhort of treaſon againſt the conſtitution; and he pledged himſelf to prove, that the heir apparent in the inſtance in queſtion, had no more right to the exerciſe of the executive power than any other perſon; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legiſlature, to make ſuch proviſion for ſupplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper. When the regular exerciſe of the powers of government was from any cauſe ſuſpended, to whom could the right of providing a remedy for the exiſting defect devolve, but to the people, from whom all the powers of government originated? To aſſert an inherent right in the Prince of Wales to aſſume the government, was virtually to revive thoſe exploded ideas of the divine and indefeaſible authority of princes, which had ſo juſtly ſunk into contempt, and almoſt into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their power from the people, and to the people alone, through the organ of their repreſentatives did it appertain to decide in caſes for which the conſtitution had made no ſpecific or poſitive proviſion."

Thus was this famous political queſtion at iſſue between theſe two great political rivals; in which it was remarkable that Mr. Fox, the ſteady, uniform, and powerful, advocate of the people, appeared to lean to prerogative; and Mr. Pitt, who had been loudly accuſed of deſerting the principles of liberty, ſtood forth their intrepid and zealous aſſerter.

On the 16th of December, the houſe being in a committee on the ſtate of the nation, Mr. Pitt moved the two following declaratory reſolutions; firſt, the interruption of the royal authority; and, ſecond, that it was the duty of parliament to provide the means of ſupplying that defect. A vehement debate enſued, in the courſe of which Mr. Fox declared the principles of the miniſter to be, that the monarchy was indeed hereditary, but that the executive power ought to be elective: the legal metaphyſics, that thus diſtinguiſhed between the crown and its functions, were to him unintelligible. "Where," ſaid he, "is that famous *dictum* to be found by which the crown is guarded with inviolable ſanctity while it's *powers* are left to the mercy of every aſſailant. The prince, it is aſſerted, has no more right than another perſon, and at the ſame time it is acknowledged that parliament is not at liberty to think of any other regent; and all this paradoxical abſurdity for the paltry triumph of a vote over a political antagoniſt." The reſolution was, however, on a diviſion, carried by 268 againſt 204 voices. This great point being gained, the miniſtry proceeded without delay to convert it to their own advantage.

A letter was written to the Prince of Wales by Mr. Pitt, informing his royal highneſs of the plan meant to be purſued: That the care of the king's perſon and the diſpoſition of the royal houſhold ſhould be committed to the queen, who would by this means be veſted with the patronage of four hundred places, amongſt which were the great offices of lord ſteward, lord chamberlain, and the maſter of the horſe. That the power of the prince ſhould not extend to the granting any office, reverſion, or penſion, for any other term than during the king's pleaſure, nor to the conferring any peerage. The anſwer of the prince was firm, dignified, and temperate. He ſaid, "it was with deep regret, that he perceived in the propoſitions of adminiſtration, a project for introducing weakneſs, diſorder, and inſecurity, into every branch of political buſineſs; for ſeparating the court from the ſtate, and depriving government of its natural and accuſtomed ſupport; a ſcheme for diſconnecting authority to command ſervice, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly ſtation, without the means of ſoftening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity." He obſerved, that the plea of public muſt be ſtrong, manifeſt, and urgent, that could thus require the extinction or ſuſpenſion of any of thoſe eſſential rights in the ſupreme power or its repreſentative, or which could juſtify the prince in conſenting, that in his perſon an experiment ſhould be made to aſcertain with how ſmall a portion of kingly power the executive government of this country could be conducted. In fine, the prince declared, that his conviction of the evils which might otherwiſe ariſe, outweighed in his mind every other conſideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful truſt impoſed upon him by that melancholy neceſſity, which of all the king's ſubjects he deplored the moſt.

The bill intended to carry this project into effect was brought into the houſe on the 16th of January 1789. Long and violent debates enſued; and in the houſe of lords, it was accompanied by a proteſt, ſigned by the Duke of York, at the head of the princes of the blood, and fifty-five other peers, expreſſive of their higheſt indignation at the reſtrictions thus arbitrarily impoſed on the executive authority. Theſe extraordinary and unprecedented proceedings were at length, happily for the public, arreſted in their progreſs by an intimation from the chancellor, that the king was declared by his phyſicians to be in a ſtate of convaleſcence. This was followed by a declaration, on the 10th of March, that his majeſty, being perfectly recovered from his indiſpoſition, had ordered a commiſſion to be iſſued for holding the parliament in the uſual manner. The tidings of the king's recovery diffuſed the moſt general and heartfelt ſatisfaction. A national thankſgiving was appointed, and the king himſelf went in ſolemn proceſſion to the cathedral of St. Paul's to offer up his devotions on this event. His recovery was alſo celebrated throughout the kingdom by ſplendid illuminations, and all the other accuſtomed demonſtrations of joy.

In the ſpeech delivered by the chancellor in the name of the king to the two houſes, his majeſty conveyed to them his warmeſt acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of attachment to his perſon, of their concern for the honour and intereſts of his crown, and the ſecurity and good government of his dominions. It very ſoon appeared that the laſt proceedings of the miniſtry in the regency buſineſs were highly agreeable to the ſovereign. A number of perſons holding poſts under the government, who had concurred in the meaſures of oppoſition, were unceremoniouſly diſmiſſed from their offices; amongſt whom were the Marquis of Lothian, the Duke of Queenſbury, Lord Carteret, and Lord Malmſbury.

The ſeſſion was terminated, Auguſt the 11th 1789, by the ſpeech from the lord chancellor in the name of the ſovereign; in which it was obſerved, that, "although the good offices of the king and his allies had not been effectual for the reſtoration of general tranquillity, the ſituation of affairs promiſed to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace." The recent events which had taken place in the different nations of Europe, rendered an aſſurance like this, at ſuch as eventful period, peculiarly grateful. A war had been kindled which gradually ſpread from the Euxine to the Baltic; from the ſnow-clad mountains of Norway to the arid waſtes of Tartary: and the foundation of a great and ſtupendous revolution had been laid, which, by a ſudden and almoſt miraculous expanſion, became at once an object of admiration and terror to a gazing and aſtoniſhed world.

While the ſummer of the year 1789 paſſed away in England without producing any memorable tranſaction, it proved a period fruitful of commotion on the continent, and will be diſtinguiſhed to the lateſt poſterity as the epoch of the French revolution. On the 14th of July a moſt tremendous inſurrection took place at Paris, in which the caſtle of the Baſtile, a fortreſs long but vainly deemed impregnable, was carried by ſtorm. This great and aſtoniſhing event, being viewed as the triumph of liberty over deſpotiſm, was the theme of general exultation to the friends of humanity in every quarter of the world. Engliſhmen, particularly alive to the bleſſings of freedom themſelves, partook by a generous ſympathy in the patriotic ſtruggles of France. The grand and ſublime ſpectacle of twenty-ſix millions of our fellow creatures indignantly ſpurning at ſlavery, and obtaining liberty by the exertions of an irreſiſtible and noble enthuſiaſm, not only arreſted the attention of all nations, but ſo deeply intereſted the feelings of the Engliſh public, that in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom, this amazing revolution was celebrated with demonſtrations of joy. The details of theſe tranſactions belong properly to another work, (Hiſt. of France, vol. iii. p. 337 and ſeq.) and are only alluded to here, as an introduction to ſome parliamentary occurrences, about to be noticed, and which have an immediate reference to the affairs of France.

1790. The parliament, elected in 1784, met for its laſt ſeſſion on the 21ſt of January 1790. In the ſpeech from the throne, his majeſty ſlightly glanced at the affairs of France, by obſerving, that "the internal ſituation of the different parts of Europe had been productive of events which had engaged his moſt ſerious attention." Lord Valletort, in moving the addreſs, took occaſion to contraſt the tranquil and proſperous ſituation of England with the anarchy and licentiouſneſs of France, and to ſtigmatize the revolution in that country as an event the moſt diſaſtrous and fatal to the intereſts of the French which had ever taken place ſince the foundation of their monarchy. This language was highly applauded by the prerogative phalanx, and was a tolerable indication of the light in which the recent tranſactions in France were viewed by the Britiſh court. The ſubject was reſumed, upon the debate which took place relative to the army eſtimates. On this occaſion, Mr. Burke delivered his firſt philippic againſt France. He obſerved, "that France in a political light was to be conſidered as expunged out of the ſyſtem of Europe. Whether ſhe would ever appear in it again as a leading power was not eaſy to determine: but at preſent he conſidered France as not politically exiſting; and moſt aſſuredly it would take much time to reſtore her to her former active exiſtence. The French had ſhewn themſelves the ableſt architects of ruin that had hitherto appeared in the world. In one ſhort ſummer they had completely pulled down their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue. Were we abſolute conquerors, and France to lie proſtrate at our feet, we ſhould bluſh to impoſe upon them terms ſo deſtructive to all their conſequence as a nation, as the durance they had impoſed upon themſelves. In the laſt age we were in danger of being entangled by the example of France in the net of a relentleſs deſpotiſm, a deſpotiſm indeed proudly arrayed in manners, gallantly, ſplendor, magnificence, and even covered over with the impoſing robes of ſcience and literature. Our preſent danger, from the example of a people whoſe character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from licentious violence—a danger of being led from admiration to imitation of the exceſſes of an unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical, democracy—of a people whoſe government is anarchy, and whoſe religion is atheiſm. The French nation were very unwiſe. What they valued themſelves upon was, in his opinion, a diſgrace to them. They had gloried, and and ſome people in England had thought fit to take ſhare in that glory, in making a *revolution.* He declared he felt great concern that this ſtrange thing, called a revolution in France, ſhould be compared with the glorious event commonly called the revolution in England. In truth, the circumſtances of our revolution, as it is called, and that of France, are juſt the reverſe of each other in almoſt every particular, and in the whole ſpirit of the tranſaction. What we did was, in truth and ſubſtance, not a revolution made, but prevented. We took ſolid ſecurities; we ſettled doubtful queſtions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the ſtable fundamental parts of our conſtitution we made no revolution;—no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. The nation kept the ſame ranks, the ſame ſubordinations, the ſame franchiſes; the ſame order in the law, the revenue, and the magiſtracy; the ſame lords, the ſame commons, the ſame corporations, the ſame electors. The church was not impaired: her eſtates, her majeſty, her ſplendour, her orders and gradations, continued the ſame: ſhe was preſerved in her full efficiency, and cleared only of that intolerance which was her weakneſs and diſgrace. Was little done then, becauſe a revolution was not made in her conſtitution? No—every thing was done; becauſe we commenced with reparation, not with ruin. Inſtead of lying in a ſort of epileptic trance, expoſed to the pity or deriſion of the world for her wild, ridiculous, convulſive movements, the ſtate flouriſhed; Great Britain roſe above the ſtandard of her former ſelf. All the energies of the country were awakened, and a new æra of proſperity commenced, which ſtill continues, not only unimpaired, but receiving growth and improvement under the waſting hand of time."

Mr. Fox, notwithſtanding his perſonal regard and friendſhip for Mr. Burke, thought it neceſſary, in juſtice to the rectitude and dignity of his own character, to declare "his total diſſent from opinions ſo hoſtile to the general principles of liberty; and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man whom he loved and revered—by whoſe precepts he had been taught, by whoſe example he had been animated to engage in their defence. He vindicated the conduct of the French army, in refuſing to act againſt their fellow citizens from the aſperſions of Mr. Burke, who had charged them with abetting an abominable ſedition by mutiny and deſertion; declaring that, if he could view a ſtanding military force with leſs conſtitutional jealouſy than before, it was owing to the noble ſpirit manifeſted by the French army; who, on becoming ſoldiers, had proved that they did not forfeit their character as citizens, and would not act as the mere inſtruments of a deſpot. The ſcenes of bloodſhed and cruelty that had been acted in France, no man," ſaid Mr. Fox, "could hear of without lamenting. But, when the grievous tyranny that the people had ſo long groaned under was conſidered, the exceſſes they had committed in their efforts to ſhake off the yoke could not excite our aſtoniſhment ſo much as our regret. And as to the contraſt Mr. Burke had exhibited, reſpecting the mode in which the two revolutions of England and France were conducted, it muſt be remembered, that the ſituations of the two kingdoms was totally different. In France, a new conſtitution was to be created. In England, it wanted only to be ſecured. If the fabric of government in England ſuffered leſs alteration, it was becauſe it required leſs alteration. If a general deſtruction of the ancient conſtitution had taken place in France, it was becauſe the whole ſyſtem was radically hoſtile to liberty, and that every part of it breathed the direful ſpirit of deſpotiſm."

Mr. Sheridan, with ſtill leſs reſerve and attention to perſonal reſpect, reprobated the political ſentiments which had been advanced by Mr. Burke. "The people of France," ſaid Mr. Sheridan, "it is true, have committed acts of barbarity and bloodſhed, which have juſtly excited indignation and abhorrence. He was as ready as Mr. Burke to deteſt the cruelties that had been committed; but what was the ſtriking leſſon, the awful moral, that theſe outrages taught? A deeper abhorrence of that ſyſtem of deſpotic government, which had ſo deformed and corrupted human nature; of a ſpecies of government, that trampled upon the property, the liberty, and lives, of its ſubjects; that dealt in extortions, dungeons, and torture; and that prepared beforehand a day of ſanguinary vengeance, when the irritated populace ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of power. But, whatever were theſe outrages, was the national aſſembly in any reſpect anſwerable for them, that aſſembly which had exerted a firmneſs and perſeverance hitherto unexampled; that had ſecured the liberty of France, and vindicated the cauſe of mankind? Were the mad cruelties of a mob an adequate ground for branding the national aſſembly with the ſtigma of being a bloody, ferocious, and tyrannical, democracy? It was a libel on that illuſtrious body thus to deſcribe them. A better conſtitution than that which actually exiſted, it is allowed that France had a right to expect. From whom were they to receive it? From the bounty of the monarch at the head of his courtiers? or from the patriotiſm of Marſhal Broglio at the head of the army? From the faint and feeble cries emitted from the dark dungeons of the Baſtile? or from the influence and energy of that ſpirit which laid the Baſtile in aſhes? The people, unhappily miſguided, as they doubtleſs were, in particular inſtances, had however acted rightly in their great object. They had placed the ſupreme authority of the community in thoſe hands by whom alone it could be juſtly exerciſed, and had reduced their ſovereign to the rank which properly belonged to kings—that of adminiſtrator of the laws eſtabliſhed by the free conſent of the community."

On the 19th of April, Mr. Pitt preſented to the houſe his annual ſtatement of the national revenue and expenditure. He expreſſed a peculiar degree of pleaſure in being able to announce, that the receipt of the exchequer had ſurpaſſed that of the year preceding in the ſum of half a million; and he rejoiced, that, from the proſpect of an uninterrupted enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace, ſtill greater acceſſions might reaſonably be hoped. Before however the public had time to partake of the miniſter's joy, from the conſolatory intimations of national peace and proſperity, he was commiſſioned to deliver, to the houſe, (May the 5th) a royal meſſage of a very different import, and which excited inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment, by announing a ſtate of things which bore the undiſguiſed and dreadful aſpect of war.

To elucidate this matter, it is neceſſary to mention, that the celebrated circumnavigator Cook, in his laſt voyage of diſcovery, touching at different ports on the weſtern coaſt of North America, purchaſed from the natives a number of valuable furs bearing a high price in the Chineſe market. In conſequence of its being likely to prove a lucrative branch of commerce, a ſmall aſſociation of Britiſh merchants, reſident in the Eaſt Indies, formed the project of opening a trade to this part of the world for the purpoſe of ſupplying the Chineſe with furs. Accordingly, in the year 1788, a ſpot of ground was procured from the Indians; and a regular ſettlement, defended by a ſlight fortification, eſtabliſhed at Nootka Sound, ſituated about the 50th degree of latitude. This being regarded by the Spaniards as a flagrant encroachment on their excluſive rights of ſovereignty, the Princeſſa, a Spaniſh frigate, was diſpatched by the viceroy of Mexico, and in May 1789 ſeized upon the fort, and captured the Iphigenia and Argonaut, two Engliſh veſſels then trading on the coaſt. At the ſame time, the Spaniſh commandant, hoiſting the national ſtandard, declared that the whole line of coaſt from Cape Horn to the 60th degree of latitude belonged to the King of Spain. This tranſaction was notified to the court of London ſo long ſince as the 10th of February by the Spaniſh ambaſſador; and his excellency at the ſame time requeſted, "that meaſures might be taken for preventing his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects from frequenting thoſe coaſts, and from carrying on their fiſheries in the ſeas contiguous to the Spaniſh continent, as derogatory to the inconteſtible rights of the crown of Spain."

The Engliſh miniſter did not receive this communication in a manner that indicated any diſpoſition to comply with the terms it contained. On the contrary, a demand was immediately advanced on their part, that the veſſels ſeized ſhould be reſtored and adequate ſatisfaction granted previous to any other diſcuſſion. The claims of Spain, in relation to her rights of dominion and ſovereignty in America were doubtleſs in the higheſt degree chimerical; and could perhaps only be equalled in extravagance by the claims of Great Britain. By the treaty of 1763, the river Miſſiſſippi, flowing in a direct courſe of fifteen hundred miles, was made the perpetual boundary of the two empires, and the whole country to the weſt of that vaſt river was ſaid to belong to his catholic majeſty, by juſt as valid a tenure as the country eaſtward of the river to the King of England. Excluſive of this recent and deciſive line of demarkation, by which the relative and political rights of both nations were clearly aſcertained, the Spaniſh court referred to ancient treaties, by which the rights of the crown of Spain were acknowledged in their full extent by Great Britain. Charles III. King of Spain, died in December 1788, and his ſon Charles IV. the preſent ſovereign, confiding in the juſtice of his claims, offered with dignified candour to ſubmit the deciſion of this queſtion to any one of the kings of Europe, leaving the choice wholly to his Britannic majeſty: "It is ſufficient" ſays the Spaniſh miniſter, Count Florida Blanca, "for the Spaniſh monarch, that a crowned head, from full information of the facts, ſhall decide as he thinks juſt;

adding, that on a late application to the court of St. Peterſburgh, in relation to ſimilar encroachments on the part of the Ruſſians, the empreſs had given the moſt poſitive orders that no ſettlement ſhould be formed on that line of coaſt." As to the non-occupancy of the particular ſpot in queſtion by the Spaniards, the court of Madrid juſtly obſerved, that ſuch a plea, if admitted, would tend, by the incongruous intermixture of ſettlements, to the utter annihilation of all definite and permament boundaries.

The royal meſſage preſented a ſtatement of the facts relative to this buſineſs, and the houſe unanimouſly joined in an addreſs to the king, aſſuring his majeſty of "the determination of his faithful commons to afford his majeſty the moſt zealous and affectionate ſupport, in ſuch meaſures as may become requiſite for maintaining the dignity of his majeſty's crown, and the eſſential intereſts of his dominions." A vote of credit paſſed the houſe for the ſum of one million, and vigorous military and naval preparations were made in both kingdoms, in the contemplation of an immediate declaration of war. It muſt be acknowledged that the hoſtile procedure of Spain, had reduced the Engliſh miniſtry to a difficult dilemma. The value of the ſettlement at Nootka, in a commercial and national view, was beneath all calculation of inſignificance; and it argued culpable inattention in the Britiſh miniſters not to have been better and earlier appriſed of the extent of the real or imaginary rights of Spain, whoſe jealouſy at the ſlighteſt infringement upon thoſe rights was ſufficiently notorious. A moment's reflection muſt have ſufficiently evinced, that a Britiſh ſettlement on the coaſt of California would be eventually productive of a ſerious contention with the court of Madrid: and a ſmall degree of diſcretion might have ſufficed to obviate this ground of national quarrel.

Spain, however, ſenſible of her inability to contend alone with England, had, in an early ſtage of the negotiation, applied to the court of France, to know how far ſhe could depend upon the fulfilment of the conditions of the family compact, in caſe of a rupture with Great Britain. The Spaniſh memorial upon this ſubject was, by order of the king, laid before the national aſſembly, and gave riſe to a very intereſting report from the diplomatic committee, preſented by the Count de Mirabeau. But, although the national aſſembly voted an immediate augmentation of the naval force, the court of Madrid plainly perceived the reluctance of the French nation to engage in a war with England, and, yielding therefore to neceſſity, complied firſt with the harſh demand of previous reſtitution and indemnification, and at length, on the 2d of October 1790, a convention was ſigned at the Eſcurial, by which every point in diſpute was conceded by Spain. By this convention the reſtoration of the buildings and veſſels, and the reparation of the loſſes ſuſtained by Britiſh ſubjects, were ſecured; the right of navigation and fiſhery was equally conceded to both nations; illicit commerce with the Spaniſh ſettlements prohibited; and the Britiſh fiſhing veſſels or others were reſtricted to ten leagues diſtance from the Spaniſh coaſt, unaccompanied however by any formal renunciation of ſovereignty on the part of Spain. And the two powers were, on the other hand, equally reſtrained from attempting any ſettlement nearer to Cape Horn than the moſt ſoutherly of the ſettlements actually formed by Spain. Thus ended a diſpute, frivolous indeed in its origin, but which ſeemed in its progreſs to threaten very ſerious conſequences, and which coſt Great Britain the ſum of three millions in warlike preparations.

But, though Great Britain was thus happily reſcued from the horrors of war in this quarter of the globe, accident or ambition had at the ſame time involved our Indian poſſeſſions in a ſtate of hoſtility and blood. The uſurpation of Hyder Ali, and the military proweſs of his ſon and ſucceſſor Tippoo Sultan, are facts already too fully ſtated to require any repetition. Of all the native princes of India, Tippoo was the moſt formidable to the Britiſh government, and the moſt active to diſturb its authority, and counteract its intereſts. The peace of Mangalore, in 1784, had, it was ſuppoſed, ſecured his fidelity by very feeble ties; and the ſplendid embaſſy which ſoon after that event he diſpatched to France, afforded juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that ſome plan was concerted between the old French government and the tyrant of Myſore, for the annoyance of the Britiſh ſettlements in India: but this plan was happily defeated by the ſame cauſe which prevented a war with Spain—the French revolution. The increaſing power of Tippoo was not leſs formidable to the Dutch than to the Engliſh; and the vicinity of Cochin, their moſt flouriſhing ſettlement on the continent of India, to the territories of that reſtleſs deſpot, filled them with alarming apprehenſions for its ſafety. But the Dutch, fully ſenſible of the perilous ſituation of Cochin, had got poſſeſſion of two other forts, ſituated between that place and Myſore, to protect their favorite ſettlement. One of theſe forts, called Cranganore, was taken from the Portugueſe by the Dutch, who retained quiet poſſeſſion of it till ſome time in the year 1779, when it was conquered by Hyder Ali and garriſoned. When the war, however, broke out in 1780, between Hyder and the Engliſh, he was obliged to evacuate his garriſons on the Malabar coaſt, to employ his force in the Carnatic; and Holland and France ſoon after uniting with him againſt England, the Dutch availed themſelves of Hyder's troubles, to ſeize clandeſtinely the fort. Hyder was highly offended at the liberty taken by his good ally, and complained loudly of the tranſaction; but by the mediation of the French, a compromiſe took place between the parties, and the matter was ſettled. The forts of Cranganore and

Acottah were, however, ſtill objects of Tippoo's ambition; and, notwithſtanding his father had ceded the former by agreement to the Dutch, he marched a formidable force in June 1789, towards Cranganore, with an avowed deſign of diſpoſſeſſing the Dutch, and aſſerting a claim of right, founded on the tranſactions juſt related. Unable to retain the forts, and apprehenſive for the fate of Cochin itſelf, the Dutch readily entered into a negociation with the rajah of Travancore for the purchaſe of them. Tippoo, on being informed of this circumſtance, offered a larger ſum than the rajah; but, as the latter was the ally of Great Britain, who was conſequently bound by treaty to aſſiſt him, that politic people plainly perceived, that by placing them in his hands, they erected a moſt powerful barrier againſt the encroachments of a turbulent and ambitious neighbour. The imprudence of the rajah, in entering upon ſuch a purchaſe while the title was diſputed, drew down upon him the heavieſt cenſures from the government of Madras; and he was repeatedly cautioned by Sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Holland his ſucceſſor, not to proceed in the negociation. Such, however, was the ardor and temerity of the rajah in making this acquiſition, that he not only concluded the purchaſe with the Dutch, but even treated with the rajah of Cochin, without the privity of Tippoo, to whom the latter was an acknowledged tributary. The bargain was concluded in July 1789, though it was not till the 4th of Auguſt that the rajah informed the Madras government, through their reſident Mr. Powney, that he was on the point of making the purchaſe.

It was not to be expected that Tippoo would remain an idle ſpectator of theſe tranſactions. He inſiſted on the claim which he retained over theſe forts, on the ground of their being conquered by his father; and, in conſequence of the ſubſequent compromiſe, he aſſerted, and with ſome plauſibility, that, in virtue of

the

the feudal laws, no transfer of them could be made without his conſent as ſovereign of Myſore; and he alſo alleged, as a further cauſe of complaint againſt the rajah, that he had given protection to a number of his rebel ſubjects. Accordingly, on the 29th of December, Tippoo made a direct attack upon the lines of Travancore; but, receiving a remonſtrance from the Britiſh government of Fort St. George, he deſiſted from farther hoſtilities, and even apologized for his recent conduct, affirming, "that the attack was occaſioned by the rajah's people having firſt fired on his troops; that, notwithſtanding this, he immediately ordered his troops to diſcontinue the attack, and ſent back the people whom they had captured."

From the 29th of December 1781, to the 1ſt of March 1790, Tippoo Sultan remained perfectly quiet, ſtill, however, aſſerting his claims to the feudal ſovereignty of the forts, but at the ſame time offering to ſubmit the object in diſpute to the deciſion of any impartial arbitration. The rajah, who appears all along confident of being ſupported by the Britiſh arms, ventured on the 1ſt of March to make an offenſive attack on Tippoo's lines. For this extraordinary ſtep, the rajah alleged in excuſe the hoſtile preparations of Tippoo in the erection of batteries, &c. &c. An engagement took place; and, war being thus commenced, the Britiſh government conceived themſelves bound to take an active part in favour of the rajah their ally. Though the juſtice of the war may be fairly queſtioned, yet as the favourite object of the Engliſh had long been the humbling of Tippoo, it muſt be confeſſed there was at leaſt much policy in ſelecting the preſent period for the accompliſhment of ſuch a purpoſe. With all the other native powers of India we were not only at peace, but treaties of alliance exiſted between Great Britain and the two moſt powerful ſtates in that quarter, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, both of whom declared themſelves in perfect readineſs to exert their utmoſt force to cruſh the riſing power of Myſore. Unfortunately for Tippoo, while he was thus expoſed to the vengeance of a powerful confederacy, the diſtracted ſtate of France cut off all hopes of aſſiſtance from his once great and formidable ally. Such was the ſituation of affairs in the eaſt, previous to the meeting of parliament, and ſuch were the facts which appeared of ſufficient importance to induce the miniſtry of Great Britain to involve the nation in the expences and calamities of war.

A newly-elected parliament aſſembled on the 25th of November, 1790. In the ſpeech from the throne his majeſty ſignified "his ſatisfaction that the differences with Spain were brought to an amicable termination." He obſerved, "that ſince the laſt ſeſſion of parliament a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Auſtria and the Porte—that a ſeparate peace had actually taken place between Ruſſia and Sweden; but, that the war between Ruſſia and the Porte ſtill continued. The principles on which I have hitherto acted," ſaid his majeſty, "will make me always deſirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the reſtoration of general tranquillity. He obſerved with concern the war in India, occaſioned," he ſaid, "by an unprovoked attack on an ally of the Britiſh nation; but which, from the ſtate of our forces in India, and the confidence which the native powers had in the Britiſh name, there was a favourable proſpect of bringing to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful concluſion."

On the 15th of December, Mr. Pitt, after indulging in a flow of introductory eloquence, ſtated the amount of the expences incurred by the late armament againſt Spain; and propoſed various temporary taxes, which would diſcharge the incumbrance in four years—with the aſſiſtance of 500,000l. which he had it in contemplation to take from the *unclaimed dividends* lying in the bank of England, the amount of which he eſtimated at 660,000l. This latter propoſition excited alarm in all the great chartered companies, and in the commercial and mercantile world in general. It was urged, "that under the term *unclaimed dividends* is indeed veiled a groſs fallacy. Excluſive of the dividends of the laſt three years, which are not properly *unclaimed* but merely *unreceived* dividends, the balance amounts ſcarcely to a fifth part of the ſum which the miniſter propoſes to ſeize. If the recent and fluctuating balances of the bank are thus liable to ſeizures, the miniſter may one day order the money to be paid into the bank, and the next he may without any violation of public faith command it to be repaid into the exchequer." This was a bold and daring attempt of the miniſter, but he ſoon found that it was one of thoſe meaſures to which the uſual complaiſance of the houſe would not be extended, and therefore he conſented, by way of compromiſe, to accept of a *loan* of 500,000l. from the bank *without intereſt*, ſo long as a floating balance to that amount ſhould remain in the hands of the caſhier.

A ſubject of conſiderable importance came next under the cognizance of parliament. The queſtion in debate was, in ſubſtance, whether a proſecution by impeachment of the commons, does, or does not, abate by the diſſolution of parliament? Mr. Burke introduced the diſcuſſion on the 17th of December, by moving, "that the houſe do reſolve itſelf into a committee, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the impeachment of Warren Haſtings, Eſq." This, after ſome oppoſition, being carried, he made a ſecond motion, "that an impeachment by this houſe in the name of the commons of Great Britain, againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq. for high crimes and miſdemeanors, is ſtill pending." The negative of this propoſition was ſupported by the entire body of lawyers in the houſe almoſt without an exception. Mr. Erſkine, who had been long and juſtly diſtinguiſhed as a zealous friend to the conſtitution and liberties of his country, endeavoured on this occaſion to ſhew, that in conſequence of the diſſolution of parliament, the impeachment had abated; and in this opinion he was warmly ſeconded by all the crown lawyers. Upon this great queſtion, in the deciſion of which the honour, the dignity, and the authority, of the houſe were ſo deeply involved, the Speaker with peculiar propriety roſe and delivered his opinion. "If," ſaid he, "the maxim laid down by the lawyers were admitted to be juſt, the conſequence was obvious. The impeachment of a profligate or corrupt miniſter might, by the inſidious intervention of the prerogative, at any time be rendered nugatory and abortive. In the view of the conſtitution, and even by the forms of parliament, the impeachment is preferred not by the houſe of commons merely, but by all the commons of England; and the houſe can be conſidered, in relation to the proſecution, as no more than the agents and attorneys of the people at large. A ſecond houſe of commons, therefore, though certainly poſſeſſing a diſcretionary power of dropping the proſecution, if upon due conſideration they are of opinion it does not reſt upon a juſt foundation, are as certainly at full liberty to proceed in it, if in their judgment conducive to the ſafety or intereſts of the ſtate." This opinion prevailed, and the trial went on.

The rights of juries had long been in an indefinite and indeterminate ſtate, particularly in the caſe of libels; and, diſputes diſgraceful in themſelves, and injurious to the adminiſtration of juſtice, had frequently ariſen between the court and the jury, between the judges and the counſel. Mr. Fox, ever active in the defence of popular rights, moved for a bill to aſcertain the authority of juries in the matter of libel. With reſpect to the pretended diſtinction between law and fact, Mr. Fox obſerved, that when a man was accuſed of murder, a crime conſiſting of law and fact, the jury every day found a verdict of guilty: and this was alſo the caſe in felony and every other criminal indictment. Libels were the only exception, the ſingle anomaly. He contended, that, if the jury had no juriſdiction over libels, the counſel who addreſſed them on either ſide, as to the criminality of the publication, were guilty of a groſs and inſolent ſarcaſm. Mr. Fox put this matter in a ſtrong point of view, by adverting to the law of treaſon. It was admitted on all hands, that a writing might be an overt act of treaſon. In this caſe, if the court of king's bench were to ſay to the jury, "Conſider only whether the criminal publiſhed the paper—do not conſider the nature of it—do not conſider whether it correſpond to the definition of treaſon or not;"—would Engliſhmen endure that death ſhould be inflicted without a jury having had an opportunity of delivering their ſentiments whether the individual was or was not guilty of the *crime* with which he was charged? Having ſhewn that the law of libels was contrary to the original principles of law, Mr. Fox ſaid, that if the committee were clear as to this point, their wiſeſt and moſt proper meaſure would be to enact a declaratory law reſpecting it: but, if they were of opinion that high authorities on the other ſide made the law doubtful, they might ſettle the law for the future without any reference to what it had been in times paſt. Mr. Pitt agreed with the principles ſtated by Mr. Fox, but inſtead of a committee of juſtice, recommended the bringing in a bill "to remove all doubts reſpecting the rights and functions of juries in criminal caſes." The bill was accordingly introduced, and paſſed the commons, but on its tranſmiſſion to the houſe of lords, it was oppoſed on the ſecond reading by the lord chancellor, on pretence of its being too late in the ſeſſion to diſcuſs a meaſure of ſuch importance. The principle of the bill was ably defended by the law-lords Camden and Loughborough, with whom Lord Grenville concurred. The bill was poſtponed for the preſent; but, in the next ſeſſion, 1792, it was carried through both houſes, and paſſed into a law, notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition of the law-Lords, Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurſt. The Marquis of Lanſdowne was pointedly ſevere upon the judges. He ſaid, "that the act which declared the judges independent of the crown, would, in fact, be found to render them totally independent of the people, and more than ever dependent on the crown. Before the revolution, the judges took no part in politics, or in the debates of that houſe; now they were of great weight in every diſcuſſion, and occupied ſo much of the time, that noble lords could hardly obtain an opportunity of ſpeaking. For what they knew, they might have a chief juſtice at the head of a party in that houſe, going down reeking with party-rage to preſide on a trial for a libel publiſhed againſt himſelf by ſome political adverſary. For his own part, his lordſhip declared, he could not frame to his mind a caſe in which juries did not appear as fully competent to decide conſcientiouſly on the law and the fact blended, as the twelve judges. He did not blame the lawyers for making a ſtand againſt the preſent bill. It was well worth a ſtruggle on the part of the profeſſion. It was a proud ambitious profeſſion, deſirous of obtaining power over all. And if the noble lord at the head of the king's bench could overthrow it, as his lordſhip had ſtudied politics as well as law, he would reign lord paramount of England." The law-lords joined in a proteſt againſt the bill.

The evidence on the ſlave-trade being at length cloſed, Mr. Wilberforce, on the 18th of April, 1791, brought forward his long expected motion of abolition; which he introduced with a copious and convincing diſplay of the arguments in favour of that meaſure. The crimes and villanies to which this horrid traffic had given riſe, were detailed with a minuteneſs which placed not merely the perſons actually concerned, but human nature itſelf, in a light the moſt degrading and deteſtable. The mover, with all the eloquence of feeling and of truth, aſſerted that the hiſtory of this commerce was written in characters of blood. "Let us," ſaid he, "turn our eyes for relief from this diſgraceful ſcene to ſome ordinary wickedneſs. The ſteps taken by parliament in this buſineſs had by no means," he ſaid, "bettered the condition of the wretched Africans, when on-board our ſhips: for, even in the year 1788, when the friends of humanity were agitating the ſubject within thoſe walls, all the miſery, all the compulſion, all the deſpair, all the inſanity, which on a former occaſion he had brought into their view, were actually going forward in the ſlave ſhips; and it appeared upon the evidence, that ſeveral of theſe wretches voluntarily threw themſelves into the ſea, and before they expired, ſhewed ſigns of exultation that they had eſcaped. A veſſel of 120 tons, commanded by Captain Knox, carried two hundred and ninety ſlaves, and forty-three other perſons: the ſlaves had not room to lie on their backs, and yet Captain Knox had declared, 'they ſlept *tolerably comfortable!*' Another veſſel of 108 tons carried four hundred and fifty ſlaves; and a third, of 150 tons, ſix hundred. It was ſcarcely poſſible to conceive the ſufferings of thoſe unhappy beings thus crowded together, and parched by the ſultry heat of a burning ſun: indeed the whole formed a ſcene of wretchedneſs and depravity, from the contemplation of which the mind turned with diſguſt and horror. Mr. Wilberforce alſo produced inſtances to ſhew that the ſlaves in the iſlands were not under the protection of law. Colonial ſtatutes," he ſaid, "had indeed been paſſed, but they were a mere dead letter; ſince, however ill treated, the ſlaves had ſeldom been conſidered as having any right to redreſs. An inſtance of aſtoniſhing cruelty appeared in the teſtimony of Mr. Roſs, as committed by a Jew; but, though a matter of notoriety, it does not ſeem to have entered into the contemplation of any perſon to call him to a legal account. Some inſtances had indeed occurred *very lately*, of convictions; one of which was, for a maſter having cut the mouth of a child from ear to ear; when the verdict of the jury evinced, that the doctrine of calling maſters to account was entirely novel, as it only pronounced him 'guilty—ſubject to the opinion of the court, if immoderate correction of a ſlave by his maſter be a crime indictable.' The court determined in the affirmative; and for this inhuman act of cruelty, the monſter of a maſter was fined 25s. With reſpect to the character of the Africans, many creditable witneſſes, he obſerved, had ſpoken highly of their ingenuity, tractability, cheerfulneſs, hoſpitality, and every quality that evinced them to be fitted for civilized life. To ſuppoſe them an inferior ſpecies, and the peculiar objects of the divine vengeance, he termed a groſs and impious blaſphemy. Whatever might be the fate of his motion, he had endeavoured," he ſaid, "to diſcharge his duty, and he was perfectly ſatisfied of one thing, *that the public had already aboliſhed the ſlave trade*." He concluded with moving "for a bill to prevent the farther importation of African negroes into the Britiſh colonies;" which after a long and animated debate, was negatived by a majority of ſeventy-five voices.

To qualify in ſome meaſure the rejection of this motion, a bill was introduced by Mr. Thornton, and paſſed, for chartering a company to make an eſtabliſhment at Sierra Leona on the coaſt of Africa, for the purpoſe of cultivating Weſt-Indian and other tropical products by the uſe of free negroes. This experiment has, by inſpiring confidence in the Engliſh name, opened a more unreſerved intercourſe with the natives; and every friend to humanity muſt wiſh it ſucceſs.

The only remaining tranſaction which fell under the

notice

notice of parliament this ſeſſion was the buſineſs of our interference between the Porte and Ruſſia in favour of the former power. The juſt grounds of the quarrel can only be underſtood by adverting to the actual ſituation of affairs on the continent. Leopold king of Hungary had no ſooner aſſumed the Auſtrian ſceptre, than he reſolved on terminating the war with Turkey; and, under the powerful mediation of England and Pruſſia, a convention was concluded, Auguſt 1790, at Reichenbach, after a negociation of ſome months, protracted in the unavailing hope of retaining poſſeſſion of the important fortreſs of Belgrade, which, fifty years before, England had exerted her utmoſt influence to ſecure to the houſe of Auſtria; but now, ſwayed by Pruſſian counſels, ſolicitous to advance the intereſts of that power, in contra-diſtinction to thoſe of Auſtria, the ancient and genuine ally of Britain, ſhe inſiſted on its reſtitution, in common with all the other Auſtrian conqueſts, to the Ottoman Porte. In return, the Auſtrian Netherlands were guaranteed to the houſe of Auſtria, and the poſſeſſion of the imperial crown eventually enſued to his Hungarian majeſty. The Flemings refuſing, notwithſtanding their diſtreſsful condition, to return to the Auſtrian dominion, a great military force was ſent into the country in the autumn of 1790, under the command of Marſhal Bender, which quickly effected their total reduction. Sweden alſo, diſappointed in her views and projects of ambition, thought proper to ſign a ſeparate peace with Ruſſia, Auguſt, 1790, on the baſis of the former treaties of Abo and Nyſtadt. The courts of London and Berlin, elated with the ſucceſs of their mediation at Reichenbach, now in high and arrogant language ſignified to the Empreſs of Ruſſia their pleaſure, that peace ſhould be reſtored between the Ottoman and Ruſſian empires, on the terms of a general reſtitution of conqueſts. The empreſs replied with equal haughtineſs, " that ſhe would make peace and war with whom ſhe pleaſed, without the intervention of any foreign power." Not however chooſing too far to provoke the reſentment of theſe formidable and ſelf-created arbitrators, ſhe ſecretly intimated her willingneſs to conclude a peace with Turkey, on the condition of retaining the country eaſtward to the Neiſter, as a reaſonable indemnification for the expences of the war. This was a waſte and deſert tract of territory, valuable only for the ſecurity it afforded to her former acquiſitions, and for including within its limits the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Oczakow. This being peremptorily refuſed, the conference broke off, and the empreſs determined to ſupport her claims by the ſword.

Mr. Pitt therefore, on the 28th of March, 1791, delivered a meſſage to the houſe of commons from his majeſty, importing, "that the endeavours which he had uſed in conjunction with his allies to effect a pacification not having proved ſucceſsful, his majeſty judged it requiſite, in order to add weight to his repreſentations, to make ſome further augmentation of his naval force." This meſſage being taken into conſideration, Mr. Pitt enlarged much on the neceſſity of attending to the preſervation of the balance of power in Europe. "The influence of the Turkiſh empire, he ſaid, was of great effect in the general ſcale. Its preſent ſituation was ſuch as to afford juſt cauſe of apprehenſion to other powers; and to Pruſſia in particular it muſt be highly injurious, to ſuffer the Turkiſh empire to be diminiſhed in force and conſequence. He therefore moved an addreſs, aſſuring his majeſty that his *faithful commons* would make good ſuch expences as may be found neceſſary."

The proſpect of a war with Ruſſia on theſe frivolous grounds, aſtoniſhed every thinking individual, alarmed the public, and was oppoſed in the houſe with the whole ſtrength and talents of oppoſition. Mr. Fox ſaid, "the right honourable mover of the addreſs had enveloped himſelf in myſtery and importance, but explained nothing. When the balance of power was mentioned as a reaſon for arming, it ought to be ſhewn how it was endangered. We had no quarrel with the empreſs of Ruſſia: we had no alliance with Turkey. But by the abſurd pride of interfering in the affairs of every ſovereign ſtate, we involved ourſelves in continual expence, and were expoſed to the perpetual hazard of war. It was to ſecond the ambitious policy of Pruſſia, and not for any intereſts of our own, that we were now called upon to arm. The czarina, it was well known, had offered to give up all her conqueſts but a barren diſtrict, unprofitable and worthleſs, except for a ſingle place contained in it, which place was Oczakow. But would any one ſeriouſly pretend that the balance of Europe depended on the trivial circumſtance, whether Oczakow ſhould in future belong to the empire of Ruſſia or of Turkey? That this was even with miniſters themſelves, a novel idea, was plain; for Oczakow had been taken in 1788, and in 1789 his majeſty had aſſured the parliament and the nation, that the ſituation of affairs was ſuch as promiſed us a continuance of peace." The queſtion was however carried in favour of the addreſs by 228 to 135 voices.

It has been ſaid, and with great truth, that this deciſion of itſelf was ſufficient to demonſtrate the neceſſity of a parliamentary reform: for when the repreſentatives voted for a Ruſſian war, they were ſo far from ſpeaking the ſentiments of the nation, that the people every where execrated the meaſure. And to enter into a war in defiance of the opinion of the public was an undertaking which the miniſter, with his acknowledged courage, did not chooſe to attempt; and therefore, after all the buſtling, threatening, and dreadful preparation, the point in diſpute was ſuddenly and wiſely given up, and Oczakow remained in the poſſeſſion of Ruſſia. The ſeſſion of parliament terminated June the 10th, 1791, his majeſty expreſſed his perfect ſatisfaction at the zeal with which the two houſes had applied themſelves to the conſideration of the different objects which he had recommended to their attention.

Soon after the riſing of parliament, the nation was diſgraced by a wanton and unprovoked ſeries of tumults and outrages, which, for the ſpace of four days, ſpread terror and alarm through the populous town of Birmingham and the adjacent country. It has been already ſeen that a difference of ſentiment on the character of the French revolution gave riſe to a heated and violent diſcuſſion in parliament,—ill according with the dignity of a legiſlative aſſembly. But this cauſe of diſcord was not confined to the higher orders of ſociety: it alſo pervaded the inferior claſſes; and conſiderable pains were taken by miniſterial journaliſts to inflame the paſſions of the populace againſt the aſſerters of Gallic liberty. On the other hand, the whig party and the friends of freedom in Great Britain rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring nation, and flattered themſelves that they ſaw in the ſucceſs of the French revolution, not only the annihilation of deſpotiſm in that country, but the commencement of a new ſyſtem of politics in Europe, the baſis of which was peace, happineſs, and mutual concord.

In moſt of the larger towns of Great Britain, aſſociations were formed for the celebration of the French revolution on the 14th of July: but the oppoſite party were not indifferent ſpectators of theſe proceedings: the moſt ſcandalous and inflammatory inſinuations were conveyed in newſpapers and pamphlets, ſtigmatizing the friends of freedom as determined republicans, and repreſenting the act of joining in a convivial meeting on the odious 14th of July, as an attempt to overturn the Britiſh conſtitution in church and ſtate.

A few days previous to the meeting in commemoration of the French revolution at Birmingham, ſix copies of the moſt inflammatory and ſeditious handbills, propoſing the French revolution as a model to the Engliſh, and exciting them to rebellion, were left in a public-houſe by ſome perſon unknown. As the contents of this handbill found a quick and general circulation, they occaſioned a ferment in the town. The magiſtrates offered a reward of one hundred guineas for diſcovering the author, printer, or publiſher, of the obnoxious paper; and the friends of the meeting intended for the 14th, publiſhed at the ſame time an advertiſement explicitly denying the ſentiments and doctrines of the ſeditious handbill, and diſavowing all connexion with its author or publiſher. The views and intentions of the meeting having, however, been groſsly miſrepreſented, and the gentlemen concerned ſuſpecting the ſeditious handbill to be an artifice projected by their adverſaries, thought it moſt adviſeable to relinquiſh the ſcheme; and accordingly notice was given to that effect: but, at the preſſing inſtance of ſeveral perſons diſſatisfied with this determination, the intention was revived, and the company met at the appointed time to the number of between eighty and ninety. The ingenious Mr. Ker, well known for his great attainments in chemiſtry and other branches of philoſophy, and a member of the eſtabliſhed church, was placed in the chair. The gentlemen had ſcarcely met before the houſe was ſurrounded by a tumultuous crowd, who teſtified their diſapprobation by hiſſes and groans, and by the ſhout of Church and King, which became the watch-word on this occaſion. At five o'clock the company diſperſed, and ſoon afterwards the windows in the front of the hotel were demoliſhed, and the houſe otherwiſe injured; and notwithſtanding the appearance of the magiſtrates, the mob forcibly entered and ſearched the houſe in queſt of the gueſts, but fortunately found none of them remaining.

Dr. Prieſtley did not attend the feſtival, but dined at home at Fairhill with a friend from London. After ſupper, they were alarmed with the intelligence, that the mob were aſſembled at the new diſſenting meeting-houſe belonging to the doctor. The rioters ſoon ſet the meeting on fire, and never left it till nothing remained that could be conſumed. They attacked afterwards his old meeting houſe, but finding from its ſituation it would be dangerous to the neighbourhood to ſet it on fire, they adopted another plan, and took out the pulpit, pews, &c. and burnt the whole in an adjoining burying-ground. About half paſt nine o'clock at night, Mr. Ryland, one of Dr. Prieſtley's congregation, came with a chaiſe to Fairhill, and informed the family they muſt loſe no time in effecting their eſcape. With nothing more than the clothes which they had on, the doctor and his family got into the chaiſe, and proceeded a mile further to Mr. Ruſſel's; but here they were informed, that the mob had nearly deſtroyed Dr. Prieſtley's houſe, and would immediately proceed to that in which they then were. They therefore got into the chaiſe a ſecond time, and drove to Mr. Hawkes's, half a mile further from the town. From this ſtation they could diſtinctly hear every ſhout of the mob, and the blows of the inſtruments which were employed to break down the doors. The whole of the doctor's library, his valuable philoſophical apparatus, his manuſcripts and papers, were entirely and completely deſtroyed.

The day broke on the ſucceeding morning only to diſcover the ruins which this infatuated multitude had made, and to enable them to continue their depredations. The next object of their vengeance was Mr. Ryland, the friend of Dr. Prieſtley juſt mentioned, whoſe elegant manſion at Eaſy-hill they quickly demoliſhed.—Here, as they found a profuſion of liquor, a ſhocking ſcene of intoxication enſued, and ſeveral of the wretched rioters periſhed in the cellars by ſuffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. Six, terribly bruiſed, were dug out of the ruins, and carried to the hoſpital; ten dead bodies were found; and one man

remained

remained for three days in one of the vaults, and then worked his way out with but little injury. It was in vain that the magiſtrates ſwore in an additional number of conſtables; the mob had by this time collected ſuch ſtrength, as baffled all attempts of the civil power to diſperſe them, and the conſtables, after ſupporting a ſevere conflict, in which many of them were wounded, were compelled to retire.

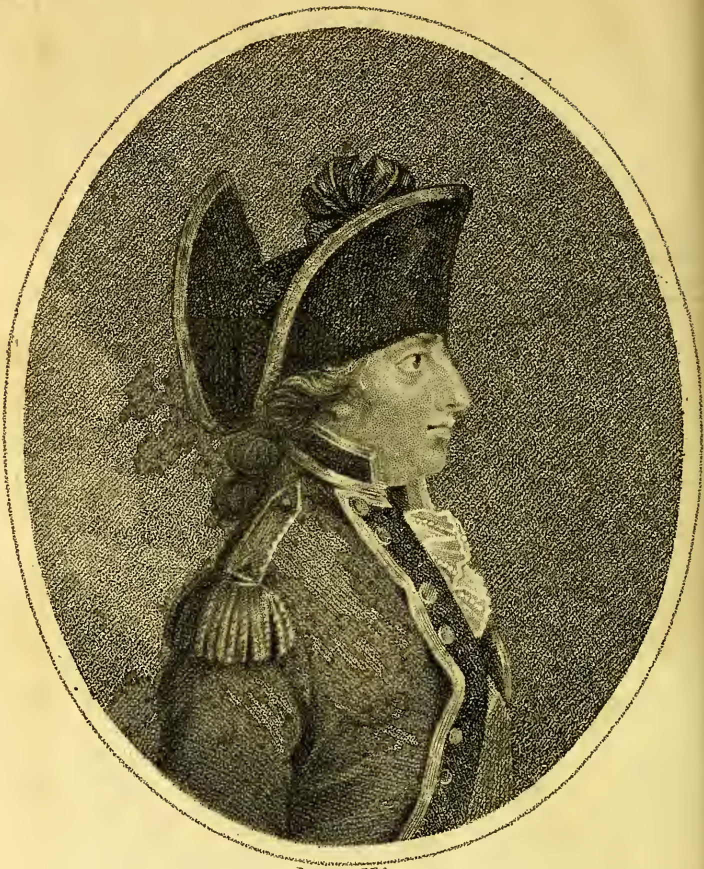
Bordeſly-hall, the country reſidence of John Taylor, Eſq. an eminent banker, was ſoon after aſſailed. The greater part of the furniture was plundered and carried away, and the houſe and out-offices ſet on fire. Several farm-houſes alſo belonging to Mr. Taylor were burnt. On the ſame evening (being Friday) the houſe of Mr. Hutton, the ingenious hiſtorian of Birmingham, was completely ſtripped. His books and papers were all deſtroyed.

On the Saturday morning they made another attack on Mr. Humphrey's elegant houſe at Spark-brook. They were at firſt repulſed, and one man was killed. In a ſecond attack they were more ſucceſsful, and ſtripped the houſe of the whole of its furniture. Mr. Ruſſel's houſe at Showell-green was entirely conſumed. Mr. Harwood's, and that of Mr. Hobſon, a diſſenting miniſter, ſhared the ſame fate. The building of Moſely-hill, the reſidence of Lady-dowager Carhampton, but the property of Mr. Taylor, was completely demoliſhed. Notice was given to Lady Carhampton on the preceding day to remove her effects, as no part of their vengeance was directed againſt her, with which notice ſhe prudently complied. The houſe of Mr. Hawkes of Moſleywake-green was on the ſame day ſtripped entirely of the furniture.

The following morning the rioters proceeded to Kingſwood, ſeven miles diſtant. In their way they committed numerous outrages, extorting money and liquor wherever they came. At Kingſwood they burnt the diſſenting meeting-houſe of the miniſter, and a little

27

2



Engraved by I. Paſs.

His ROYAL HIGHNESS *the*
DUKE of YORK
Commander in Chief
of the Britiſh and Hanoverian Troops.

a little after the houſe, &c. of Mr. Cox, farmer at Woodſtock. In ſhort, they were now ſo highly fluſhed with ſucceſs, that they threatened the entire extirpation of the diſſenters from that part of the country. Their authority and power were not, however, deſtined to be of long duration. The town of Birmingham was relieved from their depredations on the Sunday evening, by the arrival of three troops of light dragoons, which on the following morning were reinforced by three troops of dragoons, under Colonel de Lancey. During this time the mob was parading about the country, but its movements were now too rapid and uncertain to effect any formidable depredation. On Tueſday ſome reports were received of parties of rioters being ſeen near Hagley, Hales Owen, &c. and towards evening intelligence arrived of their attacking Mr. Male's at Belle-vue. A party of light dragoons was immediately diſpatched in purſuit of them; but the rioters were overpowered by the country people before the arrival of the ſoldiers, and ten of them confined at Hales Owen. The Wedneſday was employed by the light horſe in ſcouring the country ten miles round Birmingham, and on Thurſday the mob was thoroughly diſperſed, and peace and order completely re eſtabliſhed. Of the unfortunate and infatuated priſoners, who were taken in the act of rioting, ſeventeen were tried, and five found guilty; one of whom was reprieved, and four executed.

The parliament was not convened till the 31ſt of January 1792. The king announced in his ſpeech "the marriage of his ſon the Duke of York with the Princeſs Frederica, daughter of his good brother and ally the King of Pruſſia. He informed the two houſes, that a treaty had been concluded, under his meditation and that of his allies, between the Emperor of Germany and the Ottoman Porte, and that, in conſequence of their intervention, preliminaries had been agreed upon between the latter of thoſe powers and Ruſſia. He lamented that he was not enabled to inform them of the termination of the Indian war, but hoped, from the ſucceſs which had already attended the bravery of the troops under Lord Cornwallis, that it would ſoon be brought to an honourable concluſion. The general ſtate of affairs in Europe promiſed a continuance of peace, and he was induced to hope for an immediate reduction of the naval and military eſtabliſhments."

Mr. Pitt called the attention of the houſe to the flouriſhing condition of the commerce and finances of the nation; and, in the courſe of a moſt eloquent and animated ſpeech, delineated a picture of national proſperity more flattering than even the moſt glowing imagination had ventured to ſuggeſt: "The amount of the permanent revenue, with the land and malt duties annexed, from January 1791 to January 1792, he eſtimated at 16,730,000l. being 300,000l. more than the aggregate of the preceding year. The permanent expenditure, including the intereſt of the debt, the annual million applied towards its extinction, the civil liſt, and the military and naval eſtabliſhments, he calculated at 15,810,000l. leaving a clear ſurplus of more than 900,000l. In this ſtate of things he thought himſelf authorized to propoſe a repeal of a part of the more burthenſome taxes, to the amount of 200,000l. per annum; and at the ſame time apply the ſum of 400,000l. to the reduction of the national debt, in aid of the annual million appropriated by parliament. After ſporting his fancy, in developing the hidden and fruitful ſprings of returning proſperity, the miniſter concluded with the following memorable words: "From the reſult of the whole I truſt I am entitled to infer, that the ſcene which we are now contemplating is not the tranſient effect of accident, not the ſhort-lived proſperity of a day, but the genuine and natural reſult of regular and permanent cauſes. The ſeaſon of our ſevere trial is at an end; and we are at length relieved, not only from the dejection and gloom which a few years ſince hung over the country, but from the doubt and uncertainty which, even for a conſiderable time after our proſpect had begun to brighten, ſtill mingled with the hopes and expectations of the public. We may yet indeed be ſubject to thoſe fluctuations which often happen in the affairs of a great nation, and which it is impoſſible to calculate or foreſee; but as far as there can be reliance on human ſpeculations, we have the beſt ground from the experience of the paſt to look with ſatisfaction to the preſent, and with confidence to the future." Such were the brilliant hopes which in this moment of miniſterial exultation the people were taught to indulge, and with ſuch dazzling but deceptive ſplendor roſe the morn of a year deſtined to ſet in darkneſs, calamity, and blood.

Mr. Pitt, on the 17th of February, preſented a copy of the treaty between his majeſty and the King of Pruſſia on the marriage of his royal highneſs the Duke York with the Princeſs Frederica Charlotte Ulrique Catharine of Pruſſia. The ſubſtance of which was, that the King of Pruſſia gives to the princeſs his daughter 100,000 crowns, viz. 40,000 as a portion, and 60,000 as paraphernalia; and in caſe the princeſs dies before her huſband, both theſe ſums are to revert to the King of Pruſſia and his ſucceſſors. Their royal highneſſes, and the King of Great Britain, as well in his own name, as for his ſon the Duke of York, renounce for ever all right of inheritance to the crown and dominions of Pruſſia. The Duke of York makes a preſent to her royal highneſs of 6,000l. on the day of marriage, with intereſt from September 1791. The Duke of York agrees to pay to her royal highneſs, for pin-money, the ſum of 4,000l. per annum, of which her royal highneſs is to have the ſole diſpoſal. The King of Britain pays a counter-portion of 100,000 crowns, and engages that in caſe of the death of his royal highneſs, the annual ſum of 8,000l. with a ſuitable reſidence and ſuitable eſtabliſhment, ſhall be provided for the princeſs.

On the 2d of April, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider of the ſtate of the African ſlave trade. From the deciſion on Mr. Wilberforce's motion laſt ſeſſion, it appeared that the enthuſiaſm of parliament for the abolition had greatly abated; while on the other hand that of the public in general had increaſed. The table of the houſe of commons was now covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, imploring in earneſt language the abolition of that infamous and inhuman traffic. Mr. Wilberforce declared, "That from his exertions in this cauſe he had found happineſs, though not hitherto ſucceſs. It enlivened his waking and ſoothed his evening hours, and he could not recollect without ſingular ſatisfaction, that he had demanded juſtice for millions who could not aſk it for themſelves." He concluded an able and eloquent ſpeech, by moving the queſtion of abolition. Mr. Wilberforce was powerfully ſupported by many of the moſt reſpectable members of the houſe, amongſt whom Mr. Whitbread particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the energy and animation of his remarks. "It was the neceſſary quality of diſpotiſm," he ſaid, "to corrupt and vitiate the heart: and the moral evils of this ſyſtem were ſtill more to be dreaded than the political. But no mildneſs in practice could make that to be right which was fundamentally wrong. Nothing could make him give his aſſent to the original ſin of delivering man over to the deſpotiſm of man. It was too degrading to ſee, not the produce of human labour, but man himſelf, made the object of trade. He obſerved, that a fatality attended the arguments of thoſe who defended this deteſtable and ſhocking trade. In an account of ſelling the ſtock of a plantation, one of the evidences in favour of the ſlave merchants ſaid, 'that the ſlaves fetched leſs than the common price, *becauſe they were damaged.*' Damaged!" exclaimed Mr. Whitbread, "what is this, but an acknowledgment that they were worn down by labour, ſickneſs, by every ſpecies of ill treatment; and that inſtead of receiving the indulgence their ſituation requires, they are to be worked to death, transferred from one taſk-maſter to another, the latter perhaps more inhuman than the former! A trade attended with ſuch dreadful evils ought not to be thought of —cannot be mentioned without horror, nor continued without violating every moral and religious obligation."

In conſequence of the ardour diſplayed by the nation at large in this buſineſs, it was at length determined to concede, what was now become difficult, perhaps dangerous to withhold. Mr. Dundas, advanced to the dignity of ſecretary of ſtate by the reſignation of the Duke of Leeds, and the organ of the interior cabinet in the houſe of commons, now recommended to the houſe, in a very plauſible ſpeech, the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, ſuch as would reconcile the intereſts of the Weſt-India iſlands with the eventual abolition of the trade; and concluded by moving "That the word *gradual* might be inſerted before *abolition*." Mr. Pitt, who had done himſelf honour by his uniform and vigorous oppoſition to the ſlave-trade, in conformity with his paſt ſentiments, now declared his decided diſapprobation of the amendment; and in a ſpeech fraught with argument and eloquence, conjured the houſe not to poſtpone even for an hour the great and neceſſary work of abolition. "Reflect," ſaid Mr. Pitt, "on the eighty thouſand perſons annually torn from their native land! on the connections which are broken! on the friendſhips, attachments, and relationſhips, that are burſt aſunder! there is ſomething in the horror of it that ſurpaſſes all the bounds of imagination. How ſhall we repair the miſchiefs we have brought upon that continent? If, knowing the miſeries we have cauſed, we refuſe even now to put a ſtop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Britain! Shall we not rather count the days and hours that are ſuffered to intervene, than to delay the accompliſhment of ſuch a work? I truſt we ſhall not think ourſelves too liberal, if we give to Africa the common chance of civilization with the reſt of the world. If we liſten to the voice of reaſon and duty, and purſue this night the line of conduct which they preſcribe, ſome of us may live to ſee the reverſe of that picture from which we now turn our eyes with ſhame and regret. We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of induſtry, in the purſuits of a juſt and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of ſcience and philoſophy breaking in upon their land, which at ſome happy period in ſtill later times, may blaze with full luſtre; and, joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the moſt diſtant extremities of that immenſe continent. Then may we hope, that even Africa, though laſt of all the quarters of the globe, ſhall enjoy at length, in the evening of her days, thoſe bleſſings which have deſcended ſo plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world.

Mr. Fox ſupported the ſame ſide, with a force of argument and energy of expreſſion, equally impreſſive and convincing: "The gentleman who propoſed the amendment called himſelf," Mr. Fox ſaid, "a moderate man; but he neither felt, nor wiſhed to feel, any thing like moderation on the ſubject. The queſtion before the houſe was ſimply this; Whether they ſhould authorize by law the commiſſion of crimes in Africa, which in this country would incur the ſevereſt penalties, and even an ignominious death? Regulations, in this caſe, would be as diſgraceful as they would be impotent. One gentleman had propoſed a premium for the tranſportation of females. What!" exclaimed Mr. Fox, "is the kidnapper then to be encouraged by the Britiſh legiſlature to lay a ſnare for the harmleſs maid—to ſnatch her from the arms of her lover or her parents—or to ſeparate the wife from her huſband and children? He ſhould like," he ſaid, "to ſee the clauſe by which this inhuman meaſure was to be preſented to the parliament of England; he ſhould like to ſee the man capable of conceiving words to frame ſuch a clauſe—was there a gentleman in the houſe bold enough to ſupport it? Laſt ſeſſion," ſaid Mr. Fox, "we were cajoled and taught to believe that ſomething would be early brought forward. Have we not paſſed a year, and nothing has been done? Are we ſtill to be deluded and betrayed? Why was not the ſyſtem of moderation propoſed then? Why were we not then entertained with this *mild* and *middle* courſe called a *gradual abolition*." To enforce the neceſſity of an immediate abolition, Mr. Fox proceeded to a ſtatement of facts. "A black trader," he ſaid, "brought a girl to a ſlave ſhip for ſale: ſome perſon afterwards went on-board and diſcovered who the trader was that ſold her, and went and brought him to the ſhip and ſold him for a ſlave. 'What, ſaid the trader, 'do you buy me, grand trader?' 'Yes,' replied the captain, 'I will buy you or any one elſe if offered for ſale.' On the firſt view of this fact it appears a piece of barefaced villany; but on examining the ſubject it is evidently a neceſſary conſequence flowing from the very nature of the trade. How could the captain know or decide who was the real owner of the girl? As had only given in that inſtance the ſame anſwer that he muſt give in every other: 'I know not who has a right to ſell, it is no affair of mine; if any one offers me a ſlave, my rule is to buy him and aſk no queſtions.' Were the objects of the trade brute animals," ſaid Mr. Fox, "no man ought to expoſe them to be treated with ſuch wanton cruelty—were they wholly inanimate, no honeſt man would engage in a trade founded manifeſtly on the principles of injuſtice!" The amendment of Mr. Dundas was nevertheleſs carried on the diviſion by a majority of ſixty-eight voices. Accordingly he afterwards moved "that the importation of negroes into the Britiſh colonies ſhould ceaſe on the 1ſt of January 1800." This, on the motion of Lord Mornington, was after great difficulty and debate altered to January the 1ſt 1796.

The next buſineſs of importance that came under the conſideration of parliament, was the eſtabliſhment of a new police for the city and liberty of Weſtminſter. The bill for this purpoſe was introduced by Mr. Burton. The outline of his plan was, to eſtabliſh five principal offices, to be always open for the adminiſtration of that branch of juſtice which falls within the juriſdiction of the juſtices of the peace. To each offices three juſtices were to be appointed, with a ſalary of 300l. each per annum. The fees paid into all the offices were to be conſolidated into one fund, which was to be applied towards the diſcharge of the ſalaries; and in order completely to annihilate the odious name and functions of a trading juſtice, no perſon in the commiſſion of the peace was to be permitted to receive fees.

Though the various attempts made in the houſe of commons to obtain a parliamentary reform, had uniformly proved unſucceſsful, they were yet far from being unproductive of effects, as they provoked diſcuſſions tending to make thoſe very evils more *apparent*, which the legiſlature peremptorily refuſed to *remedy*. From this ſource, and from the knowledge conveyed through a number of popular tracts on the ſubject, the public mind was at this period completely informed of the defects of our repreſentative ſyſtem. In conſequence of this general diffuſion of knowledge, a number of political ſocieties were formed for the purpoſe of procuring a reform in parliament. One of theſe ſocieties, compoſed chiefly of tradeſmen, aſſumed the title of the London Correſponding Society, and adopted in its full extent the celebrated ſyſtem of reform recommended by the Duke of Richmond, reſting on the baſis of univerſal ſuffrage and annual parliaments. But though the fate of this ſociety is deſtined to occupy a conſpicuous part in the ſubſequent Hiſtory of England, there was another formed at this time, which, of all others, attracted moſt the attention both of government and the nation. The ſociety alluded to, known by the name of the Friends of the People, adopted thoſe principles of reform which Mr. Pitt had once ſupported, and which had been ſanctioned by the approbation of the moſt diſtinguiſhed advocates for conſtitutional liberty. About thirty members of parliament entered their names as members of this aſſociation, which alſo comprehended many of the moſt eminent characters in the kingdom, whether in reſpect of political or literary ability. After publiſhing a manly declaration of their ſentiments, the ſociety came to the reſolution, that early in the next ſeſſion a motion of reform ſhould be brought forward in parliament, and that the conduct of the buſineſs in the houſe of commons ſhould be committed to Mr. Grey and Mr. Erſkine, both of whom were members.

In conformity with the views of this ſociety, Mr. Grey, on the 30th of April, gave notice of his intention to move, in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion, for an inquiry into the ſtate of the repreſentation. He had ſcarcely concluded this intimation, when Mr. Pitt roſe with unuſual vehemence to reprobate the meaſure. "Nothing could," he ſaid, "be whiſpered on this ſubject which did not involve queſtions of the moſt ſerious, the moſt extenſive, the moſt laſting, importance to the people of this country, to the very being of the ſtate. He felt no difficulty in aſſerting, in the moſt deciſive terms, that he objected both to the time and the mode in which this buſineſs was brought forward. He would confeſs that, in one reſpect, he *had changed* his opinion upon this ſubject, and he was not aſhamed to own it. He retained his opinion of the propriety of a parliamentary reform, if it could be obtained by a general concurrence, pointing harmleſsly at its object. But he was afraid, at this moment, that if agreed to by that houſe, the ſecurity of all the bleſſings we enjoyed would be ſhaken to the foundation. The preſent, he aſſerted, was not a time to make hazardous experiments. Could we forget what leſſons had been given to the world within a few years? Could it be ſuppoſed that men felt the ſituation of this country, as contraſted with that of others, to be deplorable? He then noticed the aſſociation of the friends of the people, and its advertiſements, inviting the public to join the ſtandard of reform. He ſaw with concern the gentlemen to whom he alluded, united with others, who profeſſed not reform only, but direct hoſtility to the very form of our government, who threatened the extinction of monarchy, hereditary ſucceſſion, and every thing which promoted order and ſubordination in a ſtate. To his laſt hour he would reſiſt every attempt of this nature, and if he was called upon either to hazard this, or for ever abandon all hopes of reform, he would ſay he had no heſitation in preferring the latter alternative."

The moderation of Mr. Fox's language on this occaſion afforded a ſtriking contraſt to the vehemence of the miniſter. He reminded the houſe "that he had never profeſſed to be ſo ſanguine on this ſubject as the right honourable gentleman; but, although leſs ſanguine, he happened to be a little more conſiſtent; for he had early in public life formed an opinion of the neceſſity of a parliamentary reform, and remained to this hour convinced of that neceſſity, and the obvious reaſon was, that the proceedings of the houſe were ſometimes at variance with the opinion of the public. Of the truth and juſtice of this ſentiment, he ſaid it was only neceſſary to refer to a recent inſtance, the Ruſſian armament. The declaration of that houſe was, that we ſhould proceed to hoſtilities. The declaration of the people was, that we ſhould not: and ſo ſtrong was that declaration, that it ſilenced and awed the miniſter with his triumphant majority. What was the conſequence? That the people of England were at this moment paying the expence of an armament for which they never gave their conſent; and as far as that goes, they pay their money for not being repreſented, and becauſe their ſentiments were not ſpoken within the walls of that houſe. It was the doctrine of implicit confidence in the miniſter that diſguſted the people; a confidence not given to him from the experience of his probity and talents, but merely becauſe he was miniſter: and whatever calamities he may bring upon the country, no inquiry into his conduct will be granted. As to the obnoxious allies of the late aſſociators, the objection might be completely retorted by aſking the miniſter, who have you for your allies? On our part there may be infuriated republicans, on yours they notoriouſly are the ſlaves of deſpotiſm. The firſt are the raſh zealots of liberty, the latter its inveterate and determined enemies: both of them unfriendly perhaps to the conſtitution, but there is no compariſon between them in point of real hoſtility to the ſpirit of freedom."

Mr. Sheridan, among other arguments in favour of reform, obſerved, "that ſixty or ſeventy peerages had been created under the preſent adminiſtration, for no diſtinguiſhed abilities, for no public ſervices, but merely for their intereſt in returning members of parliament. Here peerages had been bartered for election intereſt; in the ſiſter kingdom they had been all but proved to have been put up to auction for money. The miniſter, failing in his propoſition of adding one hundred members to the houſe of commons, had almoſt added as many to the houſe of peers. In his public letter to Mr. Wyvill, he profeſſed himſelf a friend, both as a man and miniſter, to parliamentary reform, and pledged himſelf to purſue it till it was accompliſhed. What had ſince happened to change his opinion? He had been eight years a miniſter, and as he could with tolerable eaſe command majorities, he found he could do without it." Mr. Sheridan remarked, "that an honorable gentleman (Mr. Powis) had called upon all who thought as he did, to proteſt againſt the meaſure. In this he had done wiſely; for to proteſt was eaſier than to argue."*

On the 5th of June, Mr. Dundas brought forward his ſtatement of the revenue and finances of India; and by an intricate deduction of figures, he attempted to prove the ſurplus of the Bengal revenue for the preceding year to be no leſs than 11,000l. The flouriſhing ſtate of the revenue was, however, remarked by Mr. Francis to be not preciſely the ſame thing with the flouriſhing ſtate of the country, which might be ill able to bear the weight of theſe impoſitions. The ſeizures for non-payment of the land revenue were, he ſaid, moſt alarmingly notorious: and he held in his hand, at that moment, two Bengal advertiſements, the one announcing the ſale of ſeventeen villages, the other of forty-two. The reſt of the debate conſiſted chiefly in deſultory converſation concerning the Indian war. As that ſubject however ſoon afterwards aſſumed a new aſpect, by the fortunate termination effected by Lord Cornwallis, a detail of the principal events of the war from its commencement to the peace concluded in March 1792, is of more importance, and has therefore a ſtronger claim on attention.

The actual commencement of hoſtilities may be dated from the engagement between the troops of the Rajah of Travancore, ſtationed at Cranganore for the defence of that fortreſs, with thoſe of Tippoo Sultan on the 1ſt of May 1790. This event, which was expected by our government and probably concerted with them, was the ſignal for a moſt vigorous preparation for war on the part of the Britiſh. The grand Carnatic army aſſembled immediately in the ſouthern provinces. The general plan of the campaign was to reduce the Coimbettore country, and all the adjacent territory which lay below the Ghauts, or narrow paſſes between the mountains, and to advance by the Gujelhetty paſs to the ſiege of Seringapatam, the metropolis of Myſore. While ſuch were to be the operations of the grand army under General Meadows, the Bombay army under General Abercrombie was to undertake the reduction of the country lying to the weſt of the Ghauts, and afterwards to co-operate with the main army, as circumſtances might direct. In the mean time the ſafety of the Carnatic was ſecured by a force under Colonel Kelly, and ſtyled from its poſition the centre army, being ſtationed in the line between Madras and the paſſes leading to Myſore. The Poonah Mahrattas and the Nizam were reſpectively to penetrate the enemy's territory in the quarter bordering upon theirs; and Seringapatam was eſtabliſhed as the common centre, where the whole force was to appear in a collective body.

The reduction of Cannanore was General Abercrombie's firſt object, which after having effected, and ſeized ſeveral other places on the coaſt, he entered the kingdom of Myſore; which, notwithſtanding the pretended oppreſſion of the government, exhibited every where marks of the higheſt cultivation and proſperity. The ſultan defending himſelf with great reſolution, and no mean diſplay of military ſkill, General Meadows found himſelf under the neceſſity of retreating to the vicinity of Madras; where in the month of December 1790, Lord Cornwallis aſſumed the command of the army in perſon. The firſt exploit, after his lordſhip's joining the army, was the capture of Savendroog one of the moſt formidable hill-forts in the whole of Tippoo's dominions. It is indeed a vaſt mountain of rock, and is reckoned to riſe above half a mile in perpendicular height, from a baſe of eight or ten miles in circumference. Embraced by walls on every ſide, and defended by croſs walls and barriers wherever it was deemed acceſſible, this huge mountain had the farther advantage of being divided above by a chaſm which ſeparates the upper part into two hills, which, having each their defences, form two citadels capable of being maintained independent of the lower work, and affording a ſecure retreat, ſhould encourage the garriſon to hold out to the laſt extremity.

Lieut.-colonel Stuart, who commanded the right wing of the army, and in the firſt campaign had been employed in reducing the forts of Dindigul and Paulgautchery, was deſtined to command at the ſiege of Savendroog, and pitched his camp, on the 10th of December, within three miles of the north ſide of the rock, the quarter from which the chief engineer had propoſed to carry on the attack. The force ſent with Colonel Stuart conſiſted of the 52d and 72d regiments, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Neſbitt, and three battalions of ſepoys. Major Montague, in command of the artillery, had a park of four iron eighteen and four iron twelve-pounders, and two howitzers, beſides the field-pieces of the corps.

This ſtupendous fortreſs, ſo difficult of approach, is no leſs famed for its noxious atmoſphere, occaſioned by the ſurrounding hills and woods, than for its wonderful ſize and ſtrength; and is ſaid to have derived its name of *Savendroog*, or the Rock of Death, from its fatal climate.

The flank companies of the 71ſt and 76th regiments having been ſent from camp to join the detachment, and every thing being in readineſs, the morning of the 21ſt of December was fixed for the aſſault.

At eleven o'clock, on a ſignal of two guns being fired from the batteries, the flank companies, followed by the 52d and 72d regiments, advanced to the aſſault; the band of the 52d regiment playing, "Britons, ſtrike home!" while the grenadiers and light infantry mounted the breach. The road, or pathway, from the breach to the weſtern hill being not only extremely ſteep, but narrow, the enemy who fled from the breach impeded each other, and a few well-directed ſhot from the batteries, at that moment, did execution, and increaſed their confuſion. Captain Monſon, with his own light company of the 52d regiment, and a ſerjeant and twelve grenadiers of the 71ſt regiment, preſſed ſo hard, that they entered the different barriers along with the enemy, and killing a number of them, among whom was the ſecond killedar, gained poſſeſſion of the top of the mountain, where the head killedar was priſoner. So cloſe and critical was the purſuit, that the ſerjeant of the 71ſt regiment, when at ſome diſtance, ſhot the man who was ſhutting the firſt gate. Above a hundred of the enemy were killed on the weſtern hill, and ſeveral fell down the precipices in eſcaping from the aſſailants. The priſoners were few, who ſaid the garriſon had conſiſted of 1500; but that many had deſerted during the ſiege. Thus, in leſs than an hour, in open day, the ſtupendous and hitherto-deemed impregnable fortreſs of Savendroog was ſtormed without the loſs of a man, only one private ſoldier having been wounded in the aſſault!

The plan of the war was now conſiderably changed, and a grand effort reſolved on, to force a paſſage to Seringapatam through the country lying directly weſtward of Madras. On the 22d of February 1791 the army had marched beyond the paſs of Muglee without interruption; and on the 24th, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Bangalore. After three days march, ſome parties of the enemy's horſe were diſcovered, which increaſed as the army advanced; and before the Britiſh reached within eighteen miles of Bangalore, they burnt all the adjacent villages and deſtroyed the forage. When advanced within ten miles, the ſultan's army appeared in excellent order, and having taken poſſeſſion of the heights, cannonaded the Britiſh rear, while his cavalry made an unſucceſsful attempt on the baggage. The Britiſh general encamped before Bangalore on the 5th of March. On the following day the *petta* or town was ſtormed and taken, with the loſs of one hundred men. On the 22d Lord Cornwallis determined, without further delay, to ſtorm the fort, as he was beginning to run ſhort of proviſions. The ſtorming party conſiſted of the 36th, 72d, 76th, king's regiments, two battalions of ſepoys, together with the European grenadiers and light infantry of the army: and the whole command by Major-general Meadows.

They were obliged to aſcend and deſcend by ſcaling ladders, and in two hours from the commencement of the aſſault the Britiſh colours were ſeen flying on the rampart. The garriſon conſiſted of about 3000 men, 1500 of whom were inſtantly and inevitably put to the bayonet. Great quantities of grain were found in the fort and pettah; and this glorious enterprize was effected with the loſs of only about 20 men killed and wounded on our ſide. Bangalore was reckoned among Tippoo's ſtrongeſt holds in the Myſore country, and conſequently its loſs was ſeverely felt by him.

The fort is nearly oval, with two gates covered by outworks; but without a drawbridge; one to the ſouth-weſt called the Seringapatam-gate—the other, Ooſcottah, to the eaſtward. It appears to be irregularly built, about a mile and three quarters in circumference, with ſmall round baſtions at the diſtance of 50 or 60 yards, incapable of containing more than three guns each. Six lofty cavaliers in different parts, mounting each eight or ten guns, command the fort and the adjacent country; the rampart is ſufficiently broad to admit of the heavieſt guns being fired from the curtains; and the ditch, except in two places where it is covered by outworks, is deep and broad, but with hardly any water in it.—The fauſſe-braye is wide, and the covertway very judiciouſly conſtructed; the glacis, as is uſual in Indian forts, too ſteep. More than 100 pieces of cannon were taken, with great quantities of ammunition and military ſtores.

All accounts concur in admiring the extent and magnificence of the palace, and the plantations and diſpoſition of its garden; exact architecture or elegance could not be looked for, but much more of both was found than could have been expected. In the extenſive chambers of the palace, a rich profuſion of carpets, hangings, and ſilks, gilded and fluted pillars, and walls and cielings painted and burniſhed; and, in the garden, walks and pieces of water well diſpoſed and planted, with lofty and ſhady avenues, and fruit and flowers in great abundance. But a ſtill more important proof of the rapid ſtrides the former maſter of Bangalore was making in uſeful improvements, was the ſtate of the foundry for cannon and iron-works which he carried on there. One very remarkable machine for boring muſkets was found; it is worked by bullocks, and ſuch is its force and contrivance as to bore fifty at a time. The venerable killedar Bahauder Khan, fell in the ſtorm of the ramparts. The ſecond in command alſo fell; and Kiſtna Row, Tippoo's favourite bucſhee, was taken priſoner. The walls were ſcaled in two places at once.

On the 13th of May, the army, by extraordinary exertions, arrived in view of Seringapatam, the ſuperb capital of Myſore, defended by the ſultan in perſon; ſuch were the rapid movements of Lord Cornwallis, that Tippoo had only reached the place four days before his lordſhip came in ſight. On the next day an action took place, in which Tippoo was ſaid to be defeated; though he does not appear to have ſuſtained any very conſiderable loſs. The ſwelling of the river Cavery, which ſurrounds Seringapatam, together with the want of proviſions, compelled Lord Cornwallis to begin his retreat to Bangalore, almoſt before his victory could be announced. General Abercrombie, who had advanced through the Ghauts on the oppoſite ſide, with a view to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis, was now alſo obliged to lead back his army, fatigued, haraſſed,

raſſed, and diſappointed, over the mountains they had ſo lately and with ſuch difficulty paſſed. During theſe tranſactions, the troops of the Nizam and the Mahrattas kept diſcreetly aloof, leaving the burthen of the war almoſt entirely to the Britiſh. While the army lay encamped near Seringapatam, a preſent of fruit was ſent from Tippoo to Lord Cornwallis, and ſome overtures for a ſeparate peace: the preſent was however returned, with an aſſurance to the ſultan, that no peace could be accepted that did not include the allies. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, ſo ſolicitous was Tippoo for peace, that Lord Cornwallis had ſcarcely reached Bangalore when a vakeel arrived with full powers to treat; but owing, it is ſaid, to ſome informality in point of etiquette, rather than to any diſlike of the object of his miſſion, all negociation was ſuſpended.

Though this campaign was not attended with the ſucceſs expected, the next, for which Lord Cornwallis made unremitted preparations, opened under more favourable auſpices. On the 1ſt of February, 1792, the grand army proceeded on their march to attack a ſecond time the capital of Tippoo Saib, with all the confidence that aroſe from knowing that every difficulty was now foreſeen and provided againſt; and all were ſenſible that the fatigues they had undergone were amply compenſated by the experience gained in the former expedition to the capital. Under theſe impreſſions they ſoon mounted the range of barren hills that lies to the north-eaſt of Seringapatam. The view of the city from thoſe heights, and of the ſultan's encampment under the walls of it, was a pleaſing but not a new ſight to the army. Every circumſtance that could be obſerved was intereſting; and, from the ſultan's poſition, it was evident he meant to defend the place in perſon, and make this the grand concluding ſcene of the war.

The army arrived on the 5th of February, and pitched their camp acroſs the valley of Milgottah, fronting the ſultan, at the diſtance of about ſix miles from his camp and capital. The Britiſh army formed the front line. Its right wing reached from the river along the rear of the French rocks to a large tank which covered that flank of the line. The park and left wing extended from the other ſide of the river to the verge of the hills which the army had croſſed on their laſt march. The reſerve, encamped about a mile in the rear, facing outwards, left a ſufficient ſpace between it and the line for the ſtores and baggage. The Mahratta armies were alſo in the rear, ſomewhat farther removed, to prevent interference with our camp.

Ever ſince the junction of the Mahratta armies, Tippoo, ſeeing he could not continue to keep the field, had employed his chief attention, and the exertions of the main body of his army, in fortifying his camp, and improving his defences in the fort and iſland. The country had already been laid waſte during the former campaign, and the ſultan ſeemed confidently to reſt his hopes on the ſtrength of his works and army for protracting the ſiege, till the want of ſupplies, or the approach of the monſoon, ſhould again oblige his enemies to withdraw from his capital. This plan of defence was the more promiſing of ſucceſs, not only from the event of the laſt campaign, but from its being exactly an adoption of the meaſures by which his father, Hyder Ali, defeated a ſimiliar combination which was formed for the attack of his capital in 1767.

At ſeven o'clock in the evening of the 6th of February, orders were given for a general attack upon the lines and fortified camp of Tippoo, on the heights adjoining the city of Seringapatam. The evening was calm and ſerene; the troops moved on in determined ſilence, and the full moon, which had juſt riſen, promiſed to light them to ſucceſs.

The right column was conducted by Captain Beatſon, of the guides; the centre column by Captain Allen, of the guides, and Lieut. Macleod of the intelligence department; and harcarrahs (native guides or ſpies) who had been within the enemy's lines, were ſent both to theſe and the left column.

Tippoo's picquets having made no attempt to interrupt the reconnoitring parties in the forenoon, he probably did not expect ſo early a viſit. The diſtance of our camp ſeemed a circumſtance favourable to his ſecurity; and he did not, perhaps, imagine, that Lord Cornwallis would attack his lines till ſtrengthened by the junction of the armies commanded by General Abercrombie and Purſeram Bhow. The ſultan ſtill leſs imagined that a fortified camp, defended by a powerful army, with a large field-train, and under the guns of his capital, would be attempted by infantry alone, without cannon, and in the uncertainty of the night.

The allies, to whom the intended attack was not mentioned till after the columns had marched, were in a ſtate of the greateſt conſternation, on hearing that Lord Cornwallis had ventured out with part of his infantry only, and without cannon, to attack all Tippoo's army in a fortified camp under the walls of his capital. Their ſurpriſe was ſtill greater, on knowing that his lordſhip in perſon commanded the diviſion that was to penetrate the centre of the enemy's camp, and had gone himſelf, as they termed it, to fight like a private ſoldier. They thought it next to impoſſible that the enterpriſe ſhould ſucceed, and dreaded that the ruin of the allied armies might be involved in the attempt.

Between ten and eleven o'clock at night, the centre column touched upon the enemy's grand guard, or a body of cavalry, that were coming with rocket boys to diſturb the Britiſh camp, as they had done on the preceding night. The horſemen inſtantly galloped to their lines,

Chriſtall delin.

Defeat of Tippoo Sai

leaving the rocket-boys to harraſs the column, and endeavour to impede its march. They threw numberleſs rockets, that, like the flaſhes of diſtant lightning which precede a ſtorm, were effectual only in declaring our approach.

The left column, when the rocketing commenced, was aſcending the great Carighaut hill, which ſoon became illuminated by the diſcharge of muſquetry; and the front diviſion of the centre column, puſhing briſkly forward on being diſcovered, entered the lines about a quarter of an hour after the intelligence could have got to the enemy.

General Abercrombie's army, meeting with more impediments to retard its progreſs than were expected, and led to a more diſtant point than intended by Lord Cornwallis, was conſiderably later in reaching the ſcene of action, notwithſtanding his lordſhip's precaution in halting his column for half an hour early in the evening on that account. About half paſt eleven o'clock theſe troops came up, and, turning to the right, advanced rapidly againſt the enemy's principal redoubt in that quarter, diſtinguiſhed by the white *eadgah*, or moſque, which, ſhone upon by the moon, was ſeen clearly on the eminence.

The battle now became general throughout the whole extent of the enemy's lines, the diſcharge of cannon and peals of muſquetry ſhewing that our troops had every where cloſed with the enemy. The city, and royal palace, ſituated low, and ſeen but faintly in the moon-light, remained ſilent amidſt the conflict.

About eleven o'clock the head of the column forced through the external barrier, under a very heavy but ill-directed fire from the guns of the ſultan's redoubt, and the field-pieces ſtationed in the intervals of Tippoo's line. The fire of the muſquetry was for ſome time very heavy, but alſo ill directed, and, on the column's advancing, the enemy giving way, the leading companies puſhed to the river, paſſing the ſultan's

Chriſtall delin.

Barlow ſculp.

Defeat of Tippoo Saib before Seringapatam, by the Marquis Cornwallis.

Publiſh'd as the Act directs, March 1.st 1795.

leaving the rocket-boys to harraſs the column, and endeavour to impede its march. They threw numberleſs rockets, that, like the flaſhes of diſtant lightning which precede a ſtorm, were effectual only in declaring our approach.

The left column, when the rocketing commenced, was aſcending the great Carighaut hill, which ſoon became illuminated by the diſcharge of muſquetry; and the front diviſion of the centre column, puſhing briſkly forward on being diſcovered, entered the lines about a quarter of an hour after the intelligence could have got to the enemy.

General Abercrombie's army, meeting with more impediments to retard its progreſs than were expected, and led to a more diſtant point than intended by Lord Cornwallis, was conſiderably later in reaching the ſcene of action, notwithſtanding his lordſhip's precaution in halting his column for half an hour early in the evening on that account. About half paſt eleven o'clock theſe troops came up, and, turning to the right, advanced rapidly againſt the enemy's principal redoubt in that quarter, diſtinguiſhed by the white *eadgah*, or moſque, which, ſhone upon by the moon, was ſeen clearly on the eminence.

The battle now became general throughout the whole extent of the enemy's lines, the diſcharge of cannon and peals of muſquetry ſhewing that our troops had every where cloſed with the enemy. The city, and royal palace, ſituated low, and ſeen but faintly in the moon-light, remained ſilent amidſt the conflict.

About eleven o'clock the head of the column forced through the external barrier, under a very heavy but ill-directed fire from the guns of the ſultan's redoubt, and the field-pieces ſtationed in the intervals of Tippoo's line. The fire of the muſquetry was for ſome time very heavy, but alſo ill directed, and, on the column's advancing, the enemy giving way, the leading companies puſhed to the river, paſſing the ſultan's tan's tent, which appeared to have been abandoned with much precipitation.

The enemy, completely ſurpriſed by the parties which moved down to the river; unable to judge of their numbers in the night; and ſtrongly impreſſed with the terror of the bayonet in the hands of Europeans, deſerted the lines and batteries, which were all open to the rear, and diſperſed. Some fled for ſhelter to the gate of the pettah, where they were ſeized; and from one priſoner, Lieutenant-colonel Knox received information of ſeveral Europeans being confined in a houſe at no great diſgrace. A party was immediately ſent, who releaſed twenty-ſeven half-ſtarved wretches in heavy irons; among them was Mr. Randal Cadman, a midſhipman, taken ten years before by Suffrein, and by him delivered to Hyder. The remainder were private ſoldiers; ſome of whom had been taken by the Looties; others were deſerters, but who had not, on that account, met with better treatment.

During this period, no attempt was made by the enemy to rally their troops. They had not yet recovered from their panic, and their attention was diſtracted by the bodies of our army, that had taken poſt in different parts of the iſland, and with whoſe ſtrength they could not poſſibly be acquainted.

On approaching the ſultan's redoubt, however, a large body of horſe oppoſed itſelf to the progreſs of the column; Major Dalrymple formed the 71ſt regiment, and gave them orders to fire one round, to load and ſhoulder. This order was executed with great ſteadineſs; and, on the clearing up of the ſmoke occaſioned by the volley, the horſe were ſeen at a diſtance ſcattered over the field.

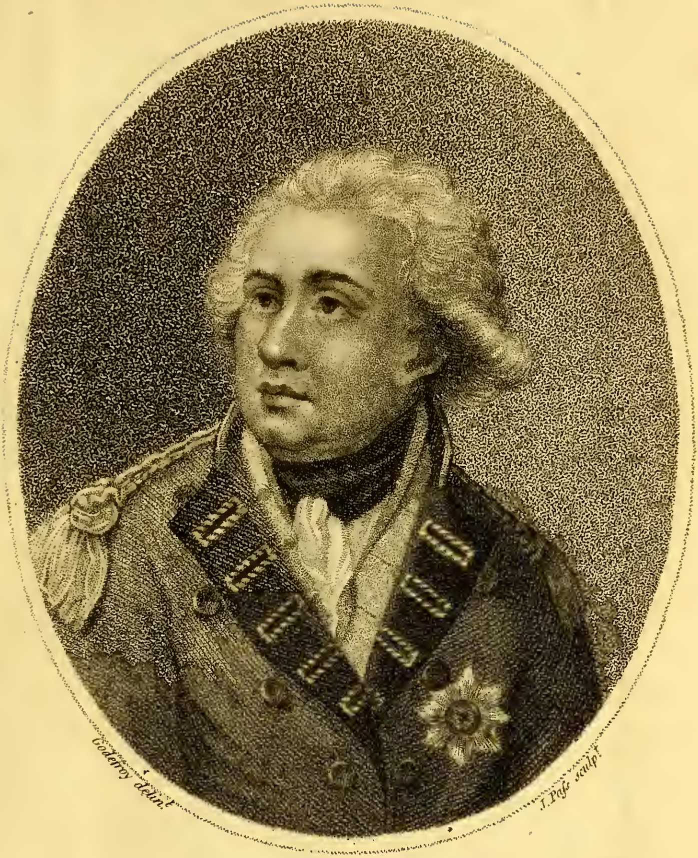
About two hours before day-light ſeven companies of the 52d regiment, and three companies of the 14th Bengal battalion, joined his lordſhip. Their arrival was moſt fortunate, as ſcarcely had they time to replace their ammunition (their cartridges having been damaged in paſſing the river), when a large body of troops, part of Tippoo's centre and left, who had recovered from the panic occaſioned by the firſt operations of the night, marched down and attacked him with much reſolution. Animated by the preſence and under the immediate orders of the commander in chief, theſe four corps received the enemy with firmneſs, returned their fire, and, on their approaching nearer, charged them with their bayonets. They, however, renewed the attack repeatedly, and it was near daylight before they were finally repulſed.

Lord Cornwallis, by his preſence, made the victory deciſive. He was on horſeback during the whole of the night, in the midſt of the attack; and, in the laſt onſet of the enemy, had his left hand grazed by a muſket ſhot. Yet, when the night was over, the battle was not at an end: the fort now opened on ſuch of our troops as were within its reach, and the ſcattered remains of the enemy began to collect in different parties. They had ſtill poſſeſſion of the redoubts between the ſultan's and the moſque redoubt, and of ſeveral batteries and poſts on the iſland, between the pettah and the fort.

The men had ſcarcely re-filled their cartridge-boxes, when a body of cavalry (at leaſt two thouſand ſtrong) were ſeen advancing with ſo determined a countenance, that it would ſeem they intended to charge with more vigour than ever. They halted, however, beyond the reach of muſquet-ſhot, when three or four hundred of them diſmounted, drew their ſabres, and made a moſt daring attempt to ſtorm the ſultan's redoubt which we had taken. Fortunately its brave defenders were prepared to receive them. Their fire brought down many; and the reſt, getting into confuſion, retired, while their friends behind the rocks redoubled their fire of cannon, muſquetry, and rockets, to cover their retreat. This happened at one o'clock in the afternoon, and was the laſt effort made by the enemy to recover the ſultan's redoubt; nor did its defenders wiſh for the honour of another attack. It had become a horrid ſcene of carnage; two officers and nineteen privates lay dead among their feet, and three officers and twenty-two privates, miſerably wounded, were imploring aſſiſtance which it was not in their power to give. About four in the afternoon, the enemy's fire from behind the rocks ſlackened, and they ſoon after began to quit their poſt and retire to the iſland. Water was then brought from a ditch and pond near the redoubt, which afforded a moſt welcome refreſhment to the wounded, and to the remaining part of the troops, who were nearly exhauſted with want and fatigue.

Such was the reſult of the battle of the 6th and 7th of February 1792; an event that will ever be contemplated with admiration in the annals of the Britiſh tranſactions in India, not leſs from the ſignal advantages gained over an able and obſtinate adverſary, than from the conſummate wiſdom diſplayed in the plan of attack. Formed on the reſult of the experience acquired in the courſe of the war, it was the boldeſt and moſt maſterly meaſure that the relative poſition and circumſtances of the contending armies could ſuggeſt; and executed with a degree of vigour which gave way to no reſiſtance, and with a ſteadineſs of diſcipline which no temptation of plunder could allure; the only ſpoils ſecured were the arms, the ſtandards, and the cannon, of the enemy.

Tippoo's principal loſs was in the vaſt deſertion that took place in conſequence of his overthrow. His ſepoys threw down their arms in great numbers, and, taking the advantage of the night, went off in every direction to the countries where they had been impreſſed or enliſted: many came into the Britiſh camp; and that continued to be the caſe during the ſiege. From their reports, it appeared, that, on a muſter taken


Godefroy delin.
J. Pass sculp.

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS

ken of the ſultan's army, ſome days after the battle, his killed, wounded, and miſſing, were found to amount to twenty thouſand!

The enemy having quitted every poſt on the north-ſide of the river, the camp was advanced on the ſucceeding days as near to the bound hedge as the guns of the fort would permit, and a chain of connecting poſts along the northern and eaſtern ſides of the fort was formed, and thus the capital of Myſore was completely inveſted on its two principal points.

Thus preſſed in every quarter—his palace and beautiful gardens in poſſeſſion of the enemy—his whole power reduced within the narrow limits of a citadel, the defence of which was even doubtful—the hitherto unſubdued ſpirit of the ſultan ſeems to have given way with his tottering fortunes, and peace, upon almoſt any terms, was become a deſirable object. As a preliminary ſtep towards an accommodation, he releaſed Lieutenant Chalmers and Naſh, who had been taken priſoners, and on their departure preſented them with two ſhawls and five hundred rupees. Soon after he diſpatched a vakeel to the camp of Lord Cornwallis to ſue for peace; which the Britiſh general at laſt granted upon the ſevere terms: 1. Of his ceding one half of his dominions to the allied powers. 2. Of paying three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification for the expences of the war. 3. The releaſe of all priſoners. 4. The delivery of two of his ſons as hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty.

On the 26th of February, the two princes, each mounted on an elephant richly capariſoned, proceeded from the fort to Lord Cornwallis's camp, where they were received by his lordſhip with his ſtaff. The eldeſt, Abul Kalick, was about ten, the youngeſt, Mooza-ud-Deen, about eight, years of age. The princes were attired in white muſlin robes, with red turbans, richly adorned with pearls. Educated from infancy with the utmoſt care, the ſpectators were aſtoniſhed to behold in theſe children all the reſerve, the politeneſs, and attention, of maturer years. The kindneſs with which they were received by the Britiſh commander, appeared to afford them the higheſt ſatisfaction. Some preſents were exchanged on both ſides, and the whole tranſaction exhibited a ſcene at once peculiarly novel, pleaſing, and intereſting. On the 19th of March, 1792, the definitive treaty, ſigned by the ſultan, was delivered by the young princes, with great ſolemnity, into the hands of Lord Cornwallis; but the ſums ſpecified in the ſecond article not being actually paid, the princes remained for ſome time longer under the ſafeguard and cuſtody of his lordſhip.

We are now approaching that calamitous period, when England was deſtined to interfere in the affairs of France; and from an honourable and proſperous neutrality, to become the principal in a war which deluged the continent in blood.

On the 21ſt, of May 1792, a royal proclamation was iſſued againſt the publication and ſale of ſeditious writings, with ſtrong injunctions to all perſons to inform againſt thoſe who ſhould be guilty of ſuch daring attempts, &c. This proclamation was evidently pointed at the Rights of Man, a publication which had made a conſiderable impreſſion upon the common people; and ſurely no expedient could be better calculated to procure conſequence to the author, or popularity to his works.

The proclamation having intimated a belief, that "correſpondencies had been entered into with ſundry perſons in foreign parts," obviouſly alluding to France, M. Chauvelin, who had but a few weeks before arrived here in the capacity of French ambaſſador, preſented immediately an official declaration to Lord Grenville, in which he complained that certain expreſſions in the proclamation appeared to give credit to the erroneous opinions propagated by the enemies of France both as to the hoſtile intentions of Great Britain to wards France, and the treacherous deſigns of France to promote ſedition and confuſion in the moſt pacific and honourable diſpoſitions of France towards this country; and produced an anſwer from Lord Grenville, that breathed the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of peace and amity, with an unequivocal engagement from our king, *directly and poſitively* to maintain the treaty of navigation and commerce exiſting between the two nations. As it was generally ſuſpected in France, that the King of Great Britain had entered into the league of Pilnitz, and was in ſecret alliance with the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the anſwer of Lord Grenville, when read in the national aſſembly, was received with boundleſs applauſe, as a ſeaſonable pledge of peace, at a time when ſtrong fears were entertained of the hoſtile intentions of our court.

Dark and myſterious as the conduct of the allied courts has been relative to the treaty of Pilnitz, the following paper, which has never been officially diſowned, certainly deſerves to remain upon record.

Partition Treaty between the Courts in Concert, concluded and ſigned at Pavia, in the month of July 1791.

His majeſty the emperor will retake all that Louis XIV. conquered in the Auſtrian Netherlands; and uniting theſe provinces to the ſaid Netherlands, will give them to his ſerene highneſs the Elector Palatine, ſo that theſe new poſſeſſions, added to the palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Auſtraſia.

His majeſty the emperor will preſerve, for ever, the property and poſſeſſion of Bavaria, to make in future an indiviſible maſs with the domains and hereditary poſſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria.

Her ſerene highneſs the Archducheſs Maria Chriſtina ſhould be conjointly with his ſerene highneſs her nephew, the Archduke Charles, put into hereditary poſſeſſion of the Duchy of Lorraine.

Alcace ſhall be reſtored to the empire, and the Biſhop of Straſburgh, as well as the chapter, ſhall recover their ancient privileges, and the eccleſiaſtical ſovereigns of Germany ſhall do the ſame.

If the Swiſs cantons conſent and accede to the coalition, it may be propoſed to them to annex to the helvetic league the biſhopric of Porentru, the defiles of Franche Comté, and even thoſe of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Berſoy, which interſects the pays de Vaud.

Should his majeſty the King of Sardinia ſubſcribe to the coalition, la Breſſe, le Bugey, and the pays de Gex, uſurped by France from Savoy, ſhall be reſtored to him.

In caſe his Sardinian majeſty can make a grand diverſion, he ſhall be ſuffered to take Dauphiny to belong to him for ever, as the neareſt deſcendant of the ancient Dauphins.

His majeſty the King of Spain ſhall have Rouſſillon and Bearn with the iſland of Corſica, and he ſhall take poſſeſſion of the French part of Saint Domingo.

Her majeſty the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias ſhall take upon herſelf the invaſion of Poland, and at the ſame time retain Kaminieck, with that part of Podolia which borders on Moldavia.

His majeſty the emperor ſhall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the ſmall forts of Servia, and thoſe on the river Lurna.

His majeſty the King of Pruſſia, by means of the above-mentioned invaſion of the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias into Poland, ſhall make an acquiſition of Thorn and Dantzic, and there unite the palatine on the eaſt to the confines of Sileſia.

His majeſty the King of Pruſſia ſhall beſides acquire Luſace, and his ſerene highneſs the Elector of Saxony ſhall in exchange receive the reſt of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary ſovereign.

His majeſty the preſent King of Poland ſhall abdicate the throne, on receiving a ſuitable annuity.

His royal highneſs the Elector of Saxony ſhall give his daughter in marriage to his ſerene highneſs the youngeſt ſon of his royal highneſs the grand duke of all the Ruſſias, who will be the father of the race of the hereditary kings of Poland and Lithuania.

(Signed) LEOPOLD,
PRINCE NASSAU,
COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA,
BISCHOFFSUERDER.

The King of England is ſaid to have acceded to this treaty in March 1792. And Holland to have acceded afterwards, provided the arrangements, reſpecting their limits with his imperial majeſty ſhould be made according to the deſire of the republic before the partition. Spain renounced it, when Count d'Aranda came into office as miniſter, giving aſſurances however of the ſtricteſt neutrality.

France had on every occaſion, ſince the commencement of her revolution up to this period, expreſſed a conſtant and anxious ſolicitude to preſerve a good underſtanding with this country. Nor were there any terms ſo humilitating or harſh, to which ſhe did not appear over ready to ſubmit, in order to ſecure this important and primary object. Nothing can be more emphatically expreſſive of theſe ſentiments, than the note which M. de Chauvelin preſented upon this ſubject to Lord Grenville, in which, for the preſervation of the peace of Europe, the king of the French urges his Britannic majeſty zealouſly to employ his good offices with his allies, to prevent them from granting to the enemies of France, directly or indirectly, any aſſiſtance. He invites him to employ in his wiſdom, and in the plenitude of his influence, the means compatible with the independence of the French nation, to ſtop, whilſt yet it may be effected, the progreſs of this dreadful combination, equally dangerous to the peace, the liberty, and the happineſs, of Europe.

The evaſive anſwer of Lord Grenville to this official note, ſufficiently beſpoke the approbation with which the Engliſh government viewed the meaſures of its allies againſt France. The anſwer ſtates, "That the ſame ſentiments which engaged his Britannic majeſty not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, equally tended to induce him to reſpect the rights and independence of other ſovereigns, and particularly thoſe of his allies." The ſlighteſt obſerver will perceive an obvious and important difference between the interference with the internal affairs of an independent ſtate, and the intermediation of a third power to conciliate a quarrel, or prevent a rupture between contending ſovereigns. The former encroaches upon the rights and independence of other powers,—the latter admits and recognizes both. When the conduct of miniſters is recollected, in their recent interference between the Ottoman Porte and the empreſs, reſpecting the ceſſion of Oczakow, (an object which could ſcarcely affect the intereſts of this country in the moſt diſtant degree,) it will not only appear that they are not always reſtrained from obtruding their ſervices by a ſcrupulous delicacy, but that the ſtudied evaſion obſervable in this anſwer to the French court was moſt probably only intended to conceal, till the proper opportunity, the hoſtile diſpoſition of our government to the new order of things in France.

The late emperor Leopold finiſhed his ſhort reign by a ſudden death on the firſt of March 1792. This event happened at a moſt critical moment; ſtrong ſuſpicions were entertained of French poiſon, which were ſoon removed by the publication of an authentic narrative of his caſe. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Francis I. who was proclaimed emperor at Frankfort on the 5th of July. The firſt act of his reign was to declare his cordial acceſſion to the treaty of Pilnitz; and from henceforth the courts of Vienna and Berlin joined in public hoſtilities againſt France. The court of Vienna publiſhed a declaration or manifeſto of the reaſons which induced her to take up arms againſt France. The firſt of theſe regarded the nature of the protection afforded to the emigrants, which, through miſrepreſentation, had given much umbrage to France. The next touched on the ſpirit of anarchy and violence "now reigning in France, of which it had become neceſſary for a concert of princes to check the progreſs, in order to oppoſe its introduction into their own ſtates. That it depended on thoſe who reign at preſent over France to make this concert ceaſe immediately, by reſpecting the tranquillity and rights of other powers, and to *guarantee the eſſential baſis of the French monarchical form of government* againſt the infringements of violence and anarchy." The King of Pruſſia publiſhed a ſimilar declaration. His manifeſto, however, was more diffuſe than that of Auſtria, and entered more particularly into the ſuppreſſion and invaſion of the German princes of Alſace and Lorrain, and the violation of the treaties that united France to the German empire. It enlarged on the miſchievous conſequences of propagating anti-monarchical principles, and it deſcribed the conduct of the French government with regard to the troops ſent to the frontiers, as an unprovoked attack of his ally the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and conſequently an unequivocal declaration of war by France.

Theſe manifeſtoes of the allied powers produced a violent fermentation at Paris. The country was publicly declared to be in danger, and the moſt vigorous meaſures were immediately adopted to recruit the army and ſtrengthen the frontiers. A royal proclamation was publiſhed, ſetting forth in a ſtrong light the dangers to which France was expoſed. In conſequence of this and other ſteps taken by the French government, a profuſion of volunteers of all ages immediately poured down upon the frontiers with the ardour of the moſt frantic enthuſiaſm.

Coblentz was at this time the general rendezvous of the French emigrants. Here they had aſſembled to the number of near twenty thouſand; and the King of Pruſſia, on his arrival, was received as the illuſtrious chief, under whoſe auſpices they expected the complete reſtoration of the ancient order of things. The reigning Duke of Brunſwick had the command of the combined armies which were deſtined for the great enterpriſe of invading France. But before he began his march from Coblentz, in order that the whole world might fully know the views and ſpirit of his glorious miſſion, he publiſhed a manifeſto in his own name, in which, to a general recapitulation of the reaſons aſſigned by the Emperor and King of Pruſſia, for combining their forces againſt France, he ſubjoins; "To theſe high intereſts, is added another important object, and which both ſovereigns have moſt cordially in view, which is to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France; to put a ſtop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, and reſtore to the king his legitimate power," &c. Then, as commander in chief of the two armies, he diſavows any pretence to enrich themſelves by conqueſt; and diſclaims *any intention to meddle with the internal government of France.* But in caſe of their making any reſiſtance when ſummoned to ſurrender, or when attacked; or of their not preventing conflagrations, murders, and pillage; or of their removing the king and royal family from Paris; or of their attempting to force or inſult the palace of the Thuilleries; or of their offering the leaſt violence or outrage to their majeſties or the royal family: then does he fulminate his maledictions upon the devoted land; he denounces inſtant death to the rebels taken in arms; decapitation and confiſcation to the members of the departments, diſtricts, and municipalities; military execution to the members of the national aſſembly, magiſtrates, and all the inhabitants of Paris; and total deſtruction to their guilty city. Though this thundering menace ſeemed to threaten vengeance awefully compendious, yet the Duke of Brunſwick was ſtill reproached with ſome qualms of lenity; and, in leſs than forty-eight hours, he ſent forth a ſecond manifeſto, to confirm and heighten the terror of the firſt, declaring, "that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy or baſeneſs of ſome inhabitants of Paris, the king and queen, or any other perſon of the royal family ſhould be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatſoever which ſhall not have oppoſed their paſſage, and ſhall not have ſtopped their proceedings, ſhall incur the ſame puniſhments as thoſe inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and their route ſhall be marked with a ſeries of exemplary puniſhments juſtly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remiſſion."

The plans of the campaign having been ſettled, the Pruſſian troops began their march from Triers on the 11th of Auguſt, and by the end of the month Longwy, a ſmall but well-fortified town, had ſurrendered to General Clairfait. Verdun alſo ſurrendered to the Duke of Brunſwick without reſiſtance. The governor of Longwy was accuſed of having delivered up the town through treachery. The governor of Verdun was compelled to do it by the inhabitants: but he would not ſurvive the diſgrace, and ſhot himſelf with a piſtol.

The ſurrender of Verdun to the Duke of Brunſwick completed the delirium of rage to which his thundering manifeſto had given riſe. Paris became a ſcene of alarm and agitation, and the ruling demagogues ſeized the moment of terror, to hurl deſtruction upon their domeſtic enemies, and gratify their purpoſes of vengeance. The Duke of Brunſwick was repreſented as having paſſed Chalons; and the community of Paris

decreed

decreed the gates to be ſhut; ſummoned all the citizens to arms; then, under pretence of ſearching for warlike implements and ammunition, commenced a round of domiciliary viſits, dragged numbers of ſuſpected perſons from their beds to priſon at midnight; and, horrid to relate, in the courſe of the three following days, ſome thouſands were murdered in cold blood, without accuſation or defence.

It is not the deſign of this hiſtory to follow minutely the motions of the combined armies, to which as yet Great Britain had not openly acceded. But it is a duty incumbent on the Engliſh hiſtorian, to endeavour to trace in the actions of the united ſovereigns, thoſe principles of their confederacy, to which England afterwards aſſented when ſhe became a party in the grand alliance. Dumourier, who commanded the French army with very inferior force, ſucceeded in ſtopping the progreſs of the enemy, and defeating every view that had brought the combined armies into the field. The ſmall town of Thionville was for ſeveral weeks beſieged in vain, by Prince Hohenloe and the chief body of French emigrants. It was at this ſiege, that theſe unfortunate men firſt found reaſon to lament the cauſe in which they had embarked. Anxious to acquire a military reputation, and to animate others by their example, they offered to reduce the town by themſelves, if the commander in chief would ſupply them with proper ordnance for the ſiege. This was refuſed, and during the whole of the campaign they were conſtantly kept in the back ground, in a ſtate of inactivity the moſt mortifying and inglorious. They received no pay during their ſervice, were diſbanded at pleaſure, were pillaged by the Pruſſian ſoldiery, though a part of the King of Pruſſia's army, and were moſt inhumanly excluded from the cartel for the exchange of priſoners. Having no mercy to expect from their countrymen, they had the ſtronger claim on the protection of that ſovereign under whoſe banner they were fighting: thoſe, however, who had been ſurpriſed by the enemy, were actually executed like common malefactors. This treatment of the French emigrants, is a tolerable proof that the myſterious convention of Pilnitz had for its objects other intereſts than thoſe of the French.

The execution of the decree for baniſhing all the nonjuring clergymen to Guiana, who ſhould not have quitted the kingdom in fourteen days from its paſſing, poured thouſands of theſe unfortunate exiles from Normandy, Picardy, and Britanny, upon our coaſts of Kent and Suſſex. Miſery and diſtreſs are at all times a ſufficient paſſport to Engliſh humanity; and this amiable characteriſtic of our countrymen was on this occaſion moſt eminently diſplayed. Wherever theſe ſufferers appeared, they were welcomed, relieved, and comforted. The old rivalry of the two nations was forgotten, and our difference from that very religion for which they were perſecuted, was ſwallowed up in a generous feeling for their unfortunate and hapleſs condition. Never was an opportunity of exerciſing heroic charity more eagerly embraced, nor benevolence conferred with more glowing ſenſibility.

Whatever were the reaſons which induced the Duke of Brunſwick to decline giving battle to the enemy, no ingenuity can juſtify his leading an army of ſeventy thouſand men into a barren part of the enemy's kingdom, without ſecuring to them a proper ſupply of proviſions, and a ready and ſafe retreat. Two months had not expired ſince this thundering hero had, by his manifeſtoes, announced death and deſtruction to all that ſhould not ſubmit to his ſummons. But now, alas! his army had advanced but a few leagues into the enemy's territory, where one third of its number were deſtined to find a grave: it had drawn upon itſelf their contempt by inactivity and inſolence; and their deteſtation by rapacity and plunder. It had been four days without bread, the want of which drove the periſhing ſoldiers to the unwholeſome food of unripe grapes; and the wetneſs of the ſeaſon ſuperadded to other cauſes produced in the combined army a general ſickneſs, that is ſaid to have proved fatal to every third man. Feeling the diſtreſs of his ſituation, the Duke of Brunſwick propoſed an armiſtice three days after the meeting of the convention, and even condeſcended to requeſt a conference with the French general Dumourier. The purport of this convention, like that of Pilnitz, has never been ſatisfactorily explained; ſurmiſe and conjecture have ſupplied the place of fact and information; but the ſubſequent movements of the armies furniſh a clue, that leads with tolerable certainty to the reſult of this ſecret conference.

The commander in chief of the combined armies, when unable longer to maintain his ground, betrayed greater weakneſs in negociating with the French general, than he had in loſing every advantage he brought into the field. Inſtead of profiting by experience, in perceiving the extreme impolicy of his two former manifeſtoes, he was frantic enough to reſt the baſis of his negociation upon a third, in which he repeats his thundering and terrific threatenings, with as much aſſurance as if he had power to inflict them. He aſſures the French, that the allied ſovereigns never will depart from the firm reſolution of reſtoring to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, liberty, ſafety, and royal dignity; or of exerciſing juſt and exemplary vengeance againſt thoſe who ſhall longer dare to infringe them. That, invariably attached to the principle of not intermeddling with the interior government of France, they ſtill perſiſt in requiring that his moſt chriſtian majeſty, as well as the whole royal family, ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty, &c. Dumourier perſiſted in the impoſſibility of negociating upon the baſis of a manifeſto carrying with it menace and war, that could only tend to irritate a free people, and conſequently terminate all amicable intercourſe. "It does not," ſays he, "at all enter the ſenſe of that, which has been talked of between us for the laſt four days—it even deſtroys it completely: it is even contradictory to the converſation, with which the Duke of Brunſwick honoured Adjutant-general Thouvenot." The purport of theſe conferences, to which Dumourier alludes, was the moſt abject and unequivocal undertaking of the Duke of Burnſwick, on behalf of the combined powers, to be ſatisfied with a grant of the ſmalleſt portion even of nominal power to the unfortunate Louis; "leſs," ſaid he, "than that of a King of England, a King of Mahrattas, a Stadtholder, a principal tax-gatherer, in ſhort any allowance that could afford them a pretext for retiring." If this mendicant ſupplication be compared with the language even of the laſt manifeſto, which it had only preceded three days, their inſincerity to the French king will be as completely eſtabliſhed, as their treachery to the emigrants. That conſtitution of France, againſt which the convention of Pilnitz had been entered into, and for the deſtruction of which above one hundred thouſand men were then in arms, was a larger boon than theſe humbled menacers now demanded, and was refuſed. Indeed, it is generally believed that the Pruſſian army muſt have been entirely cut off, had not the French generals, either from colluſion or humanity, ſpared them in their retreat. Serious accuſations upon this head were carried to the convention, particularly againſt General Arthur Dillon. But as Dumourier undertook to juſtify him, it appears to have been agreed upon in the negociation between the generals, that no moleſtation ſhould be offered to the retiring army. Verdun and Longwy were given up: the ſiege of Liſle was raiſed; and the French declared their country out of danger.

On the 18th of October the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies had completely evacuated France.—By this time the French arms were triumphant in every quarter. War having been declared againſt the King of Sardinia, General Monteſquiou entered Savoy on the 20th of September, was received with joyful acclamation

tion at Chamberri the capital, and the whole country ſubmitted almoſt without reſiſtance. On the other ſide, the fortreſs of Montalban, and the entire country of Nice, were conquered by General Anſelm. On the banks of the Rhine, General Cuſtine diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the moſt brilliant ſucceſſes—reducing ſucceſſively the cities of Worms, Spire, Mentz, and Frankfort. Early in November, General Dumourier entered the Auſtrian Netherlands. Mons inſtantly ſurrendered. Tournay, Oſtend, Ghent, and Antwerp, ſoon followed; and on the fourteenth, the French general made his triumphal entry into Bruſſels.

The rapid and brilliant ſucceſs of the republican arms in the very outſet of their career, filled Europe with conſternation and terror. In proportion as their enemies multiplied, their courage and reſources increaſed, and before the end of November the dominion of the republic was rapidly extended from the Alps to the Rhine, from Geneva to the mouth of the Scheld. The victory of Jemappe ſecured the conqueſt of Brabant and Flanders; and the moſt numerous and beſt-appointed armies of the univerſe, were every where ſeen flying from the undiſciplined, naked, but enthuſiaſtic, troops of the victorious republic.

The national convention was now ſo elated with the amazing progreſs of their arms, and ſo confident of the propriety and rectitude of every meaſure propoſed for their adoption, that they ſeem to have thought deliberation a drudgery, and reflection ſuperfluous. In this ſpirit a decree was paſſed by acclamation in the aſſembly, November the 19th 1792, in the following terms:—" The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and aſſiſtance to all thoſe who wiſh to procure liberty. And they charge the executive power to ſend orders to the generals to give aſſiſtance to ſuch people, and to defend citizens who have ſuffered and are now ſuffering in the cauſe of liberty." This famous decree, which deſerved to be conſidered in no other light than as a magnificent and empty vaunt, was productive of very ſerious and important conſequences. Two other decrees of the aſſembly alſo demand a ſpecific notice: the one erecting the duchy of Savoy into an eighty-fourth department of the French republic, contrary to a fundamental article of the conſtitution, by which ſhe renounced all foreign conqueſt: the other, on the capture of Antwerp, declaratory of the freedom of navigation on the river Scheld.

It was now that the Engliſh government began to diſcover their alarm at the rapidity and extent of the French conqueſts. Brabant, Flanders, and Liege, had been ſubdued, and ſeemed perfectly diſpoſed to fraternize with their conquerors. It was well known that in Holland a very conſiderable party of mal-contents ſought an opportunity of declaring themſelves openly againſt the Prince of Orange. Lord Auckland, the Engliſh ambaſſador, was therefore directed to aſſure their high mightineſſes, "that as the theatre of war was brought ſo near to the confines of their republic, his Britannic majeſty was both ready and determined to execute with the utmoſt good faith the treaty of 1788." The ſtates, in their anſwer to this declaration, profeſſed the ſtrongeſt belief, "that no hoſtile intentions were conceived by any of the belligerent powers againſt them." The native phlegm of the Hollander begat, in the more peaceful and ſteady, an averſion to buſtle and activity; and a rooted hatred of the court party induced numbers to diſſemble the expectation of what they moſt ardently wiſhed. Hence the frequent and juſt obſervation, that *we* had officially forced their high mightneſſes even into a war of defence, againſt their obvious intereſt or inclination.

Great Britain, however, thought proper to take meaſures for her own ſecurity.—His majeſty was accordingly adviſed to iſſue another proclamation, December 1, 1792, announcing the alarming intelligence, "that, notwithſtanding the late proclamation of the 21ſt of May, the utmoſt induſtry was ſtill employed by evil-diſpoſed perſons within this kingdom, acting in concert with perſons in foreign parts, with a view to ſubvert the laws and eſtabliſhed conſtitution of this realm; and to deſtroy all order and government therein; and that a ſpirit of tumult and diſorder thereby excited had lately ſhewn itſelf in acts of riot and inſurrection. And that, theſe cauſes moving him thereto, his majeſty had reſolved forthwith to embody part of the militia of the kingdom." On the ſame day, another proclamation was iſſued for convening the parliament (which ſtood prorogued to the 3d of January) on the 13th of December; the law requiring, that if the militia be drawn out during the receſs of parliament, and this it can only be in caſe of invaſion or actual inſurrection, parliament ſhall be aſſembled in the ſpace of fourteen days. Bounties were now offered to landmen and ſeamen; naval armaments were put into preparation in all the dock-yards: the army was drawn into a focus near the metropolis; and the tower was put into a poſture of defence.

On the meeting of parliament, the expreſſions of the firſt proclamation were repeated in his majeſty's ſpeech. It was intimated "that his majeſty had judged neceſſary to embody a part of the militia, and to call the parliament together within the time limited for that purpoſe." It ſtated, as the grounds of theſe ſtrong meaſures, "the ſeditious practices which had been diſcovered, and the ſpirit of tumult and diſorder ſhewn in acts of riot and inſurrection, which required the interpoſition of a military force in ſupport of the civil magiſtrate. The induſtry," it aſſerted "employed to excite diſcontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, appeared to proceed from a deſign to attempt the deſtruction of our happy conſtitution, and the ſubverſion of all order and government; and that this deſign had evidently been purſued in connection and concert with perſons in foreign countries. "I have," ſaid his majeſty, "carefully obſerved a ſtrict neutrality in the preſent war on the continent, and have uniformly abſtained from any interference with reſpect to the internal government of France; but it is impoſſible for me to ſee without the moſt ſerious uneaſineſs the ſtrong and increaſing indications which have appeared there, of an intention to excite diſturbances in other countries, to diſregard the rights of neutral nations, and purſue views of conqueſt and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies, the ſtates-general, meaſures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the poſitive ſtipulations of exiſting treaties. Under theſe circumſtances his majeſty thought it right to have recourſe to thoſe means of prevention and internal defence with which he was entruſted by law, and to make ſome augmentation of his naval and military force."

On moving the addreſs, in anſwer to the ſpeech, a memorable debate aroſe. Mr. Fox began by obſerving, "that the preſent was the moſt momentous criſis not only that he had ever known, but that he had ever read of in the hiſtory of this country; a criſis not merely intereſting to ourſelves and our own condition, but to all nations and to all men; and that on the conduct of parliament in this criſis depended not merely the fate of the Britiſh conſtitution, but perhaps the future happineſs of mankind. His majeſty's ſpeech contains a variety of aſſertions of the moſt extraordinary nature. It was the duty of that houſe to inquire into the truth of theſe aſſertions, and in diſcharging this part of his duty, he ſhould conſider the ſpeech from the throne as the ſpeech of the miniſter, which his majeſty's confidential ſervants had adviſed him to deliver; and as they were reſponſible for that advice, to *them* every obſervation of his ſhould be addreſſed. I ſtate it therefore," ſaid Mr. Fox, "to be my firm opinion and belief, that there is not one fact aſſerted in his majeſty's ſpeech which is not falſe; not one aſſertion or inſinuation which is not unfounded. The leading and and prominent feature of the ſpeech is a wanton and baſe calumny on the people of Great Britain; an inſinuation of ſo black a nature, that it demands the moſt rigorous inquiry, and the moſt ſevere puniſhment. The next aſſertion is, that there exiſts at this moment an inſurrection in this kingdom. An inſurrection!—where is it? where has it reared its head? Good God! an inſurrection in Great Britain? No wonder that the militia were called out, and parliament aſſembled in the extraordinary way in which they have been —but where is it? To avoid involving the people in the calamity of a war, without at leaſt aſcertaining the internal ſtate of the kingdom, and prevent us from falling into the diſgrace of being, as heretofore, obliged perhaps in a week to retract every ſyllable that we are now called upon to ſay, he concluded with moving an amendment, ſimply pledging the houſe "that inquiry ſhould be made into the facts, ſtated in his majeſty's ſpeech." After a debate of many hours, the houſe divided for the amendment 50, againſt it 290.

On the bringing up the report, on the ſucceeding day in the houſe of commons, the debate was reſumed with freſh vehemence. Mr. Fox moſt ſeverely cenſured the miniſters for not having interpoſed the mediation of Great Britain, in order to preſerve the peace of Europe. Had we proteſted againſt the project concerted at Pilnitz, and armed to prevent the execution of it, England muſt have acquired ſuch an aſcendancy in the councils of France as would have completely obviated all the ſubſequent cauſes of diſſatisfaction. "If," ſaid Mr. Fox, "there exiſts a diſcontented or diſaffected party in the kingdom, what can ſo much add to their numbers, or their influence, as a war, which increaſing the public burthens till they become intolerable will give proportionable weight to their complaints? He wiſhed therefore that war ſhould be avoided, if poſſible—that negociation ſhould precede hoſtility. He was fully aware of the arrogant notions of miniſters, who perhaps would not condeſcend to receive a miniſter from the French republic. If this were the caſe, let miniſters fairly avow it—that the people of England might know how far the eſſential intereſts of the nation were ſacrificed to a *punctilio*. Gentlemen ſhould recollect that it was once faſhionable to talk of 'a vagrant congreſs,' of 'one Hancock,' and 'one Adams,' and 'their crew.' But ſurely the folly of this language had been ſufficiently proved. He then moved an amendment, "beſeeching his majeſty to employ every means of honourable negociation, for the purpoſe of preventing a war with France."

The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Burke in a frantic ſpeech, in which he affirmed, "that to ſend an ambaſſador to France would be the prelude to the murder of our ſovereign." Mr. Pitt was at this time not a member in the houſe, having vacated his ſeat by the acceptance of the lucrative ſinecure of the cinque ports, void by the death of the Earl of Guildford, once ſo famous under the title of Lord North. In the abſence of the miniſter, Mr. Secretary Dundas entered into a long and elaborate vindication of the meaſures of adminiſtration; and he concluded with a confident prediction, that "if we were forced into a war, it muſt prove ſucceſsful and glorious." The amendment was negatived without a diviſion.

Not diſcouraged at the ill ſucceſs of theſe attempts, Mr. Fox, on the 15th of December moved, "that a miniſter be ſent to Paris to treat with thoſe perſons who exerciſe proviſionally the executive government of France." "This," he ſaid, "implied neither approbation nor diſapprobation of the conduct of the exiſting French government. It was the policy and practice of every nation to treat with the exiſting government of every other nation with which it had relative intereſts, without inquiring how that government was conſtituted, or by what means it acquired poſſeſſion of power. Was the exiſting government

ment of Morocco more reſpectable than that of France? Yet we had more than once ſent embaſſies thither, to men reeking from the blood through which they had waded to their thrones. We had miniſters at the German courts at the time of the infamous partition of Poland. We had a miniſter at Verſailles when Corſica was bought and enſlaved.—But in none of theſe inſtances was any ſanction given directly or indirectly by Great Britain to theſe nefarious tranſactions."

In anſwer to the objection, that if we agreed to a negociation, we ſhould not know with whom to negotiate, Mr. Whitbread aſked, with energetic animation, "if we knew with whom we were going to war? If there was no difficulty in deciding upon that point, how could we pretend to be at a loſs to know with whom we were to make peace? Doubtleſs with that aſſembly, truly deſcribed by his majeſty as exerciſing the powers of government in France." The motion was in the end negatived without a diviſion.

On the 17th of December, a memorial was preſented by M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, in which he informs his lordſhip that the executive council of the French republic, thinking it a duty which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it in the ſtate of ſuſpenſe into which it has been thrown by the late meaſures of the Britiſh government, have authorized him to demand with openneſs, whether France ought to conſider England as a neutral or hoſtile power; at the ſame time being ſolicitous, that not the ſmalleſt doubt ſhould exiſt reſpecting the diſpoſition of France towards England, and of its deſire to remain in peace. In alluſion to the decree of the 19th of November, M. Chauvelin ſays, "that the French nation abſolutely reject that falſe interpretation, by which it might be ſuppoſed that the French republic ſhould favour inſurrections, or excite diſturbance, in any neutral or friendly country whatever. In particular, they declare in the moſt ſolemn manner, that France will not attack Holland ſo long as that power adheres to the principles of her neutrality." As to the navigation of the Scheld, M. Chauvelin affirms it to be a queſtion of too little importance to be made the ſole cauſe of a war; and that it could only be uſed as a *pretext* for a premeditated aggreſſion. "On this fatal ſuppoſition," he ſays, "the French nation will accept war: but ſuch a war would be the war not of the Britiſh nation, but of the Britiſh miniſtry, againſt the French republic; and of this he conjures them well to conſider the terrible reſponſibility."

To this communication Lord Grenville returned an anſwer, acknowledging the receipt of a *note* from M. Chauvelin, *ſtiling himſelf* miniſter plenipotentiary of France. He reminds him that the king, ſince the unhappy events of the 10th of Auguſt, (theſe events were, abolition of royalty, and declaring France a republic,) had ſuſpended all *official* communication with France; and informs him, that he cannot be treated with in the quality and under the form ſtated in his *note*. Nevertheleſs, "under a form neither regular nor official," his lordſhip condeſcends to reply, but in a mode which could only tend to inflame the differences ſubſiſting between the two nations, and which, far from accepting the conceſſions and explanations, made by France, ſought only to diſcover new pretences of cavil and quarrel. His lordſhip ſays, "if France is really deſirous of maintaining friendſhip and peace with England, ſhe muſt ſhew herſelf diſpoſed to renounce her views of aggreſſion and aggrandizement, and *to confine herſelf within her own territory*, without inſulting other governments, without diſturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." The relinquiſhment of her recent conqueſts being thus haughtily demanded of France as a preliminary of peace, it might be well ſuppoſed that negociation was at an end. But the government of France, in the midſt of their triumphs, diſcovered a degree of temper and moderation in their intercourſe with England as ſurpriſing as it was laudable.

1793. In anſwer to the letter of Lord Grenville, a memorial was tranſmitted from M. le Brun, miniſter of foreign affairs, in the name of the executive council, dated January 4, 1793, framed in terms of ſingular wiſdom and ability, and forming a ſtriking contraſt to the petulance diſplayed in the communication of the Engliſh minſter. They begin with repeating "the aſſurances of their ſincere deſire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. It is with great reluctance," ſay they, "that the republic would ſee itſelf forced to a rupture much more contrary to its inclination than its intereſt." In reference to Lord Grenville's refuſal to acknowledge M. Chauvelin in his diplomatic capacity, the council remark, "that in the negociations now carrying on at Madrid, the principal miniſter of his catholic majeſty did not heſitate to addreſs M. Bourgoin, the ambaſſador of the republic at that court, by the title of miniſter plenipotentiary of France. But that a defect in point of form might not impede a negociation, on the ſucceſs of which depended the tranquillity of two great nations, they had ſent credential letters to M. Chauvelin, to enable him to treat according to the ſeverity of diplomatic forms. The council artfully obſerve that the decree of the 19th of November had been miſunderſtood, and that it was far from being intended to favour ſedition, being merely applicable to the ſingle caſe where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expreſſed, ſhould call for the aſſiſtance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can never exiſt in the expreſſion of the general will. The Dutch were certainly not ſeditious when they formed the generous reſolution of throwing off the Spaniſh yoke; nor was it accounted as a crime of Henry IV. or to Queen Elizabeth, that they liſtened to their ſolicitations of aſſiſtance. As to the right of navigation on the Scheld, the council affirm, that it is a queſtion of abſolute indifference to England, little intereſting even to Holland, but of great importance to the Belgians, who were not parties to the treaty of Weſtphalia, by which they were diveſted of that right; but, when that nation ſhall find itſelf in full poſſeſſion of its liberty, and from any motive whatever ſhall conſent to deprive themſelves of the navigation of the Scheld, France will not oppoſe it. With reſpect to the charge of aggrandizement, France they ſay, has renounced and ſtill renounces all conqueſt; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war.—If theſe explanations appear inſufficient, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war. We ſhall combat with regret the Engliſh, whom we eſteem, but we ſhall combat them without fear."

At length this extraordinary buſineſs, the ſource of unnumbered calamities to this country, was brought to a criſis. Louis XVI. the mildeſt and moſt inoffenſive of a long line of kings, was brought to trial, and ſentenced to loſe his life. He conducted himſelf with a firmneſs and chriſtian reſignation, which would have done honour to a martyr, and ſuffered the puniſhment of the guillotine on the 21ſt of January. His queen, the ſiſter of the Emperor of Germany, his guiltleſs ſiſter, and many of his friends, ſoon after followed him to the grave, by public authoriſed murders; while the dauphin, whoſe tender age, even in the opinion of the monſters who now preſided over the deſtiny of France, would not ſanction capital puniſhment, was left to die in priſon; and the princeſs Maria Thereſa Charlotta, the only remaining iſſue of Louis XVI. and Antoinetta of Auſtria, after ſuffering a long impriſonment, was ſet at liberty, and has ſince been married to her couſin the Duke d'Angouleſme.

The parliament of Great Britiain being ſitting, when intelligence was received that the King of France had been put to death, advantage was taken of the ſenſation which this melancholy event produced, to unite all parties in the vigorous proſecution of a war, for which preparations had long been making. Chauvelin, the accredited ambaſſador from Louis XVI. was ordered to quit the kingdom within eight days.

The death of the French monarch was indeed a diſaſtrous and mournful event. It was well known that the executive council, and a great majority of the national convention, were eagerly deſirous to avert this fatal cataſtrophe; but the violence of the Jacobin faction, and the ſavage rage of the populace, rendered it impoſſible. "We may," ſaid M. le Brun to a confidential friend, "ſacrifice ourſelves, without being able to ſave the life of the king. In England no one attempted to juſtify the deed; "nor," ſays an animated writer of that time, "is it the ſeaſon for extenuation now that the ſtream of prejudice flows ſtrong, and the phantaſm of a murdered king ſtalks before our affrighted imagination."

The Britiſh miniſtry were now determined on war: they appeared even more ſolicitous to colour the pretext for hoſtilities againſt France, than to obtain ſatisfaction for the acts of aggreſſion complained of, as appears from the tenor of their proceedings. If any proof is wanting, we ſhall find it amply ſupplied by a letter from Lord Auckland, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague, dated January the 25th, 1793, and preſented to the ſtates-general immediately on the departure of M. Chauvelin. In this letter, his lordſhip affirms to their high mightineſſes, that "not four years ago ſome wretches, aſſuming the title of philoſophers, had the preſumption to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of civil ſociety. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it neceſſary to overthrow and deſtroy all received notions of ſubordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto formed all the ſecurity, happineſs, and conſolation,

lation, of the human race. Their deſtructive projects have but too well ſucceeded. But the effects of the new ſyſtem which they endeavoured to introduce ſerved only to ſhew the imbecility and villany of its authors. The events, which ſo rapidly followed each other ſince that epoch, ſurpaſs in atrocity all which had ever polluted the pages of hiſtory. Property, liberty, ſecurity, even life itſelf, have been deemed playthings in the hands of infamous men, who are the ſlaves of the moſt licentious paſſions of rapine, enmity, and ambition." From the conduct of the Engliſh government at home, and the very high language and ſentiments conveyed through their diplomatic organs abroad, the French now ſaw that every hope of peace was vaniſhed. The convention therefore came to the reſolution of anticipating the deſigns of the Engliſh and the Dutch, and, by a decree unanimouſly paſſed on the 1ſt of February 1793, declared the republic of France at war with the King of Great Britain, and the Stadtholder of Holland.

That the Britiſh court manifeſted a friendly diſpoſition to the French revolution, prior to the 10th of Auguſt 1792, when the royal power was ſuſpended in France—is one of thoſe aſſertions of the Engliſh miniſter, which admits of very conſiderable doubt. If, inſtead of their declarations, we judge from the conduct of the Britiſh cabinet, we ſhall find very intelligible indications of diſlike even to the French conſtitution of 1789. Lord Auckland, to his letter above quoted to the ſtates general, ſays, "it is not quite four years ſince certain wretches aſſuming the name of philoſophers, &c." Here it is perfectly clear that he comprehends in his vulgar and violent cenſure the limited monarchy ſettled by the conſtitution of 1789, as well as the republican form of government eſtabliſhed in 1792; and when it is conſidered that this part of his lordſhip's conduct was, at a ſubſequent period, publicly defended and proved by miniſters in

parliament,

parliament, little doubt can remain of the real ſentiments of the Britiſh court reſpecting the French revolution of 1789.

Another pointed inſtance of the ſecret hoſtility of the Engliſh government towards the French conſtitution of 1789, appears in the correſpondence between Lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin in May 1792. The latter invariably ſtyles Louis XVI. "the king of the French," which was the title decreed by the national aſſembly, and the former as invariably ſtyles him "His moſt chriſtian majeſty," which was the title during the old deſpotiſm.

But the melancholy death of the French monarch having conſiderably alineated the affections of Engliſhmen from the French revolution, and the idea of internal danger having alſo at this time been excited by the alarming reports of plots and inſurrections, a general abhorrence of the French and of French principles had ſeized the public mind, and prepared the nation to receive the declaration of war on the part of France with general ſatisfaction, as an event to be deſired rather than dreaded. Having thus ſecured the concurrence of a great portion of the people, the miniſter loſt no time in obtaining the ſanction of parliament, to meaſures of extenſive and vigorous hoſtility. Accordingly, on the 11th of February, 1793, the following meſſage from his majeſty was read to the houſe of commons. "His majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the houſe of commons, that the aſſembly now exerciſing the powers of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hoſtility to be committed againſt the perſons and property of his majeſty's ſubjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty; and have ſince, on the moſt groundleſs pretences, actually declared war againſt his majeſty and the united provinces. Under the circumſtances of this wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion, his majeſty has taken the neceſſary ſteps to maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his majeſty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual supporet of the houſe of commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in proſecuting a juſt and neceſſary war, and in endeavouring, under the bleſſing of Providence, to oppoſe an effectual barrier to the farther progreſs of a ſyſtem which ſtrikes at the ſecurity and peace of all independent nations, and is purſued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and juſtice. In a cauſe of ſuch general concern, his majeſty has every reaſon to hope for the cordial co-operation of thoſe powers who were united with his majeſty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an intereſt in preventing the extenſion of anarchy and confuſion, and in contributing to the ſecurity and tranquillity of Europe."

Mr. Fox and his friends were reſolved to exert their utmoſt abilities to aſcertain the real and preciſe grounds of the war, that if poſſible every obſtacle to amicable accommodation might be removed, and at all events the public might be fully informed of thoſe objects for the attainment of which the nation was about to expend its blood and treaſure. Accordingly, on the 18th of February, Mr. Fox, with this view, preſented to the houſe the following reſolutions. Firſt, That it is not for the honour or intereſt of Great Britain to make war upon France on account of the internal circumſtances of that country; for the purpoſe either of ſuppreſſing or puniſhing any opinions and principles, however pernicious in their tendency, which may prevail there; or of eſtabliſhing among the French people any particular form of government.—Secondly, That the particular complaints which have been made againſt the conduct of the French government are not of a nature to juſtify war in the firſt inſtance, without having attempted to obtain redreſs by negociation.—Thirdly, That it appears to this houſe, that in the late negociation between his majeſty's miniſters and the agents of the French government, the ſaid miniſters did not take ſuch meaſures as were likely to procure redreſs, without a rupture, for the grievances of which they complained; and particularly that they never ſtated diſtinctly to the French government any terms and conditions the acceſſion to which, on the part of France, would induce his majeſty to perſevere in the ſyſtem of neutrality.—Fourthly, That it does not appear that the tranquillity of Europe, and the rights of independent nations, which have been ſtated as grounds of war againſt France, have been attended to by his majeſty's miniſters in the caſe of Poland, in the invaſion of which unhappy country, both in the laſt year and more recently, the moſt open contempt of the law of nations, and the moſt unjuſtifiable ſpirit of aggrandizement, have been manifeſted, without having produced, as far as appears to this houſe, any remonſtrance from his majeſty's miniſters.—Fifthly, That it is the duty of his majeſty's miniſters, in the preſent criſis, to adviſe his majeſty againſt entering into engagements which may prevent Great Britain from making a ſeparate peace, whenever the intereſts of his majeſty and his people may render ſuch a meaſure adviſeable, or which may countenance an opinion in Europe, that his majeſty is acting in concert with other powers for the unjuſtifiable purpoſe of compelling the people of France to ſubmit to a form of government not approved by that nation.—Mr. Fox alleged, that his object in making theſe motions was to procure a declaration of the preciſe grounds upon which gentlemen had voted for the war; for from many circumſtances he was well perſuaded that the real objects of our miniſters in going to war were thoſe which they diſclaimed, and that thoſe which they avowed were only pretexts. The motion occaſioned a very heated debate; the houſe divided, 44 for the motion, againſt it 226.

The erection of barracks in different parts of the kingdom, which the legal authorities of this country had ever conſidered as unconſtitutional, induced Mr. M. A. Taylor, on the 22d of February, to bring the opinions of Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Pelham, Lord Gage, Judge Blackſtone, &c. to prove the illegality of the meaſure, Mr. Taylor ſaid, "that the whole ſyſtem of miniſters ſhewed an evident preconcerted deſign to curb and overawe the people by the bayonet and the ſword, inſtead of applying, if neceſſary, the wholeſome correction of the laws of England; and this, in his conſcience, he believed to be their intention. He did not mean to enter into any argument with reſpect to the king's rights in virtue of his prerogative of erecting barracks; but, before proceeding to erect them, it was undoubtedly the duty of his majeſty's miniſters to have informed the houſe of their intention to do ſo, and of the reaſons which induced them to think it a meaſure either prudent or neceſſary." He ſaid, "that in the motion which he ſhould take the liberty of ſubmitting to the houſe, he ſhould adopt the words of judge Blackſtone," and he concluded with moving, "that it is the opinion of this houſe that the uniform and perſevering oppoſition of our anceſtors from time to time, to the erecting barracks in this country, was founded upon a juſt ſenſe of the true principles of our moſt excellent conſtitution, and that the opinion has been juſtified, upon high legal and political authority, that the ſoldiers ſhould live intermixed with the people, in order that they might be connected with them; and that no ſeparate camp, no barracks, no inland fortreſſes, ſhould be allowed." After a very warm debate, the miniſter moved the order of the day, and the original motion was negatived without a diviſion.

The attorney-general, on the 15th of March, moved for leave to bring in the traitorous correſpondence bill, of which the following is the outline. "That it was in future to be made high treaſon, Firſt, To ſupply the exiſting government of France, or any perſons in alliance with them, with arms or military ſtores, or to purchaſe any thing for them. Secondly, To purchaſe lands of inheritance in France, to inveſt money in any of the French funds, or to lend money on any ſecurity in France. Thirdly, To go from this country into France without licence of his majeſty and the privy ſeal. Fourthly, For a Britiſh ſubject to land in Great Britain without a paſſport or leave, or elſe to deliver himſelf to the next magiſtrate, to undergo an examination, and faithfully to diſcloſe where he had been, whither he was going, the reaſon of his journey out and home, and give ſecurity to any amount required for his good behaviour. Fifthly, To underwrite inſurances upon ſhips and goods bound from France to any part of the world."

This bill was combated by the members of oppoſition through every ſtage of its progreſs. On the motion of leave for its introduction being made by the attorney-general, Mr. Fox commenced the attack on its principles and object. "He roſe," he ſaid "to take the firſt opportunity of expreſſing his diſapprobation of the bill. If the law of treaſon was doubtful, a bill to explain it might be neceſſary; but he, who had never before heard of thoſe doubts, had no reaſon to think the law obſcure, and therefore could not think a bill neceſſary to explain it. If the law of treaſon wants explanation, then the queſtion will be, whether the proviſions of the bill now propoſed conformed to that intention. The firſt part that ſtruck his mind, was the prohibiting any perſon in this country from purchaſing lands in France. Britiſh ſubjects had frequently poſſeſſions in foreign countries, and no evil, which he had ever heard of, had hitherto reſulted from that circumſtance; and he was firmly convinced that nothing at this moment could be more dangerous than holding out that idea. Something of this kind had been propoſed during the American war, reſpecting property held in Pennſylvania; but the miniſter of that day rejected with diſdain a propoſition ſo unjuſt and impolitic. We had always encouraged foreigners, even in time of war, to deal in our funds; and we had always held their property ſacred; and he would aſk whether encouragement afforded on both ſides to deal in the funds, would operate moſt in favour of this country or of France; of that which had moſt, or that which had leaſt credit? Surely at preſent men would not be ſo blind to their own intereſts as to prefer French ſecurity to Engliſh. As to the next prohibition in the bill, the ſupplying the French with arms, if that part of the law was to be thoroughly reviſed, he ſhould perhaps queſtion whether it would not be of advantage to this country to trade with its enemies, and ſell them every article of arms, whilſt we had prompt payment, at our own price, for them. Reſpecting Engliſhmen going to France without a paſſport," Mr. Fox ſaid, "he ſhould paſs it by as the leaſt exceptionable clauſe in the bill. But as to the proviſion againſt Engliſhmen returning to their country, it was monſtrous enough to make the learned gentleman aſhamed to ſtate it. It was giving power to the king to baniſh, during the war, every Britiſh ſubject now in France. Though he may return in certain caſes by giving ſecurity, who are to be judges of the amount of that ſecurity? This was to be left to a magiſtrate—Here one man was to be put under the diſcretion of another, who might render his return impoſſible by exacting ſecurity to an amount that could not be given. As to the clauſe which prohibited the inſurance of French ſhips, he had leſs objection to it than ſeveral others, becauſe it appeared to him to be merely fooliſh, for the balance would be in favour of the Engliſh, who would in that caſe be the underwriters, becauſe the premium was always ſuppoſed to be more than the riſk. He concluded with ſaying that the whole of the bill was unneceſſary, and many of the parts of it repugnant to the common principles of juſtice."

Mr. Solicitor General defended the propriety of the bill, "The ſtatute of Edward the Third, he aſſerted, left the law of treaſon in ſome doubt, becauſe the nature of treaſon was in ſome meaſure to be determined by exiſting circumſtances; and of conſequence, there had been continual declarations of what, in particular inſtances, conſtituted treaſon. As to the purchaſe of lands, he ſtated, that one of the cauſes of the calamities of the American war, was the private intereſt of individuals, in conſequence of their profeſſions, which induced them to take a part contrary to their ſentiments."

Mr. Erſkine, in an animated ſpeech, replied to the crown lawyers. He ſaid, "that the fundamental principles of the law ought not to be ſhaken by unneceſſary acts of the legiſlature. He remarked the tendency of the preſent bill to throw ſuſpicion upon the people. The attorney general comes forward with a bill, explanatory of the ſtatute of Edward III. to tell them what circumſtances in the preſent period would be deemed treaſonable. Reſpecting that part of the bill which prohibits perſons from purchaſing land in France, it was altogether needleſs in the preſent ſtate of that country; and inſtead of prohibiting perſons from purchaſing in the French funds, miniſters ſhould rather take care that a calamitous war might not prevent from purchaſing in our own."

Mr. Burke rejoiced that, "in times of public emergency, the miniſters, and legiſlators of this country, had recourſe to the wholeſome principles of our anceſtors. At the time of the revolution in 1688, the next chapter to the bill of rights, contained an act empowering his majeſty to take up and impriſon all ſuſpected perſons. He conſidered this precedent as quite ſufficient. Thoſe who believed the conſtitution was ſecure without the preſent bill, argued on falſe principles. No period occured in hiſtory more detrimental to its vital principles than the preſent; and government

ment merited applauſe and gratitude, in proportion to their vigilance and activity. You are now at war," ſaid Mr. Burke, "with an enemy who has urged war with your conſtitution, and who has been but too ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing among you a dangerous domeſtic faction."—After a general exclamation of No! No! No!—Mr. Burke continued, "that gentlemen might now deny the aſſertion, but at a future period," ſaid he, "I will name them to their confuſion though not to their ſhame! And if it were a houſe as it is a committee, I would, perhaps, embrace the opportunity of communicating my information and ſentiments thereon."—The bill was carried by 154 againſt 53.

During the time that the above bill was in agitation, a propoſal was made to Lord Grenville by the French executive council, for putting an end to the calamities of war by amicable negociation, and a paſſport was demanded for M. Maret, who was to be inveſted with full powers to treat. The letters from M. le Brun were brought over by an Engliſh gentleman, with proper atteſtations of their authenticity, and by him delivered to the noble ſecretary. It is ſaid, that M. Maret had it in his inſtructions unequivocally to offer to our miniſtry theſe three points: Firſt, That the navigation of the Scheld ſhould be given up. Secondly, That the French troopts ſhould not approach the Dutch territories within a given diſtance. Thirdly, That the decree of the 19th of November ſhould be either altered or repealed. No notice whatever was taken of this application.

Mr. Grey once more brought forward the great queſtion of a parliamentary reform. Twenty-three petitions, praying a reform, bad been preſented to the houſe of commons, ſigned by three thouſand perſons; and on the 6th of May, Mr. Grey made his motion. He began by ſtating the difficulties he had to encounter in his attempt to procure a parliamentary reform; "for," ſaid he, "while the numerous and reſpectable petitions before the houſe in ſome meaſure facilitate my way, by proving the various arguments which the ſubject affords, yet they, at the ſame time informed the houſe, that they were not the real repreſentatives of the people, which probably will be a very diſagreeble confeſſion to extort from the members themſelves. Reſpecting the hackneyed objection of this being an improper time for reform, it would be equally rational in times of proſperity and adverſity, in times of war and peace. If our ſituation happens to be proſperous, it is then aſked whether we can be more than happy, or more than free? In the ſeaſon of adverſity, on the other hand, all reform or renovation is deprecated, from the pretended riſk of increaſing the evil and preſſure of our ſituation. Hence it would appear that the time for reform never yet had come, and never would come. By arguments ſuch as theſe had reform been hitherto combated; and by the like he believed it ever would be attacked, until ſome dreadful convulſion ſhould take place, which might threaten even the conſtitution itſelf with annihilation. Many had been the unſucceſsful attempts to bring about a reform; a proper time had never yet been found for it. In 1733, a motion was made in that houſe, by Mr. Bromley, for a repeal of the ſeptennial act, and that motion was ſeconded in a very able ſpeech by Sir William Windham. Other attempts had been made in the years 1745, 1758, 1782, 1783. and 1785. Mr. Pitt himſelf had brought the buſineſs forward in the laſt three of thoſe years. The ſame objection as to time was then made, and combated by the right honourable gentleman ſtrongly and powerfully in argument, but without effect." When Mr. Grey came to take notice of burgage tenures, and the ſplitting of meſſuages and hereditaments, for the purpoſe of multiplying voters, contrary to an act of King William for preventing ſuch practices, he quoted an opinion given judicially by Lord Thurlow, when ſitting as chancellor in the houſe of lords, in an appeal from Scotland, reſpecting the rights of voters at elections. His lordſhip ſaid, 'If the right of election could be tried by law in a court of law in England, as it was in Scotland, he was convinced that an Engliſh court of law would not be ſatisfied with ſuch a mode of election as this; that a nobleman's ſteward ſhould go down to a borough with ten or twelve pieces of parchment in his hand, containing each the qualification for a vote, and having aſſembled a ſufficient number of his maſter's tenants round a table, ſhould diſtribute among them the parchments—then propoſe a candidate—and afterwards collect theſe parchments, and declare his lord's friend duly elected for the borough.' Theſe elections Lord Thurlow called a mockery." Mr. Grey concluded with moving, that the petition (of the Friends of the People) be referred to a committee.

Sir William Young declared it had been his opinion ever ſince he began his political career, that the country had too much of a commercial turn, and that its commerce would ſoon become more than a match for its virtues. The petitioners propoſed a meaſure that evidently tended to throw weight into a ſcale which preponderated too much already. He aſſerted that boroughs bought and controlled by men of property, formed the only balance to the commercial influence which was increaſing by too rapid ſtrides, and which ought to be checked. He denied that true repreſentation was founded either upon property or numbers abſtractedly conſidered. He was therefore of opinion that the petitions were ill founded, and that no alteration ought to take place.

Mr. Whitbread ſpoke in favour of reform. In ſtating ſome of the groſs and ſhameful abuſes in borough elections, he was betrayed into the uſe of ſome obnoxious expreſſions, and was called to order; upon which he addreſſed the ſpeaker in the following terms: "Sir, am I too free in what I am ſaying? am I acting againſt your orders? it may be ſo; but if theſe things ſhould meet you ear upon the ſteps of this houſe, as you deſcend from the chair, can you contradict them? Sir, you cannot. I do know, and the petitioners who ſigned the petition now upon your table are ready to prove, that many members are nominated by individuals to ſerve in this houſe. Refute the charge! ‘ We cannot,’ you ſay. ‘ Apply the remedy then!’ ‘ We will not conſent to that.’ “ Then, at leaſt, tell the people of England—We have inveſtigated your ſtatement, and we find it to be true; but we can prove to you that the country is as well governed, and that things go on as well now as they would do if the repreſentation were reformed.” The houſe divided; for referring the petitions to a committee 41, againſt 282.

No ſubject of importance ſufficient to demand particular attention occurred during the remainder of the ſeſſion; and on the 21ſt of June the king prorogued the parliament. In his ſpeech on this occaſion his majeſty noticed “ the rapid and ſignal ſucceſſes which had in an early period of the campaign attended the operations of the combined armies; the reſpectable and powerful force which he had been enabled to employ by ſea and land, and the meaſures which he had concerted with other powers for the effectual proſecution of the war; all of which afforded the beſt proſpect of a happy iſſue to the important conteſt in which we are engaged.”

Having recorded the leading parliamentary tranſactions of 1793, the hiſtory of the firſt campaign, in which England was engaged as a principal in the armed confederacy againſt France, now demands our attention. In the faithful execution of this important taſk, a ſucceſſion of ſuch novel and aſtoniſhing ſcenes with preſent themſelves, as are certainly unequalled in ancient or in modern times. Whether we regard the vaſt armies in motion—the activity and extent of their operations—or the number of human beings who fell the victims of war,—all are on the ſcale of magnitude awful and afflicting. Nor can the eventual reſult of the campaign appear leſs wonderful to the contemplative mind than the mighty range of great and unexampled events with which it was preceded. We ſee France convulſed by internal factions,—betrayed by treachery—preſſed on all ſides by the firſt military powers in the world—braving dangers ſingularly perilous and formidable—ſurmounting every difficulty—and overpowering all oppoſition by the ardour and enthuſiaſm of liberty.

The brilliant and rapid ſucceſs of the French arms had, by the latter end of 1792, extended the dominions of the republic from the Alps to the Rhine, from Geneva to the mouth of the Scheld. The victory of Jemappe ſecured the conqueſt of Brabant and Flanders; and in the courſe of the winter General Dumourier propoſed to the executive council to take poſſeſſion of Maeſtricht, without which he alleged he could neither defend the Meuſe, nor the territory of Liege. He purpoſed to take and hold the place without entering into further hoſtilities with the Dutch, and engaging, by manifeſto, to reſtore it at the end of the war. The executive council, much to their honour, declined the propoſal, and expreſsly commanded the general to preſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality towards the united provinces. This circumſtance affords an additional proof that the French had no intention to provoke hoſtilities with England or her allies, before the unfortunate diſpute with the Britiſh miniſtry, the particulars of which have been already detailed.

Hoſtilities, however, being actually commenced, the poſſeſſion of Holland became an object of the utmoſt moment to the French, as it would be followed by advantages deciſive of the war in their favour. Had Dumourier continued faithful, there is no doubt but that the project would have been attended with complete ſucceſs: but, on the other hand, it is more than probable, that if certain arrangements had not been previouſly made with this celebrated commander, Great Britain and Holland would not have been ſo precipitate in entering into the diſpute. Thus, it appears, that both parties were deceived in the commencement of the war. The French flattered themſelves with the immediate conqueſt of Holland; while the allies, depending on the treachery of Dumourier, were looking forward with confidence to no leſs an object than the immediate ſubjugation of France. Circumſtanced as Dumourier was at this period, it is difficult to aſcertain what was his plan of the campaign. He has himſelf intimated, that it was long his fixed intention to effect an eſcape into ſome other country; and, with ſuch a deſign predominant in his mind, it is not to be ſuppoſed that he would be very earneſt in promoting the ſucceſs of his expedition. The general, in his Memoirs, has ſtated two plans; the firſt of which was propoſed by the refugee Hollanders who had formed a ſmall revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and who recommended an irruption into Zealand: the other was a plan ſuggeſted by himſelf, and which he really meant to purſue, while he appeared to favour that of the Batavian committee; and this was, to advance with a body of troops poſted at Mordyek, and maſking Breda and Gurtruydenberg on the right, and Bergen-ap-Zoom, Steenberg, Klundert, and Williamſtadt, on the left, to effect a paſſage over an arm of the ſea to Dort, and thus penetrate at once into the heart of Holland.

In the mean time General Miranda was ordered to advance with a part of his army before Maeſtricht, but was inſtructed by Dumourier not to attempt a regular ſiege at ſo unfavourable a ſeaſon, but to aſſault the place with bombs and red-hot balls; and, after receiving intelligence that the commander in chief paſſed Mordyek, to leave the continuance of the ſiege to General Valence, who was expected from Paris, and march with the utmoſt expedition to Nimeguen, and, in paſſing

ſing the duchy of Cleves, to intercept the Pruſſians, ſhould they have anticipated his arrival there. Venlo was at the ſame time to be attacked by General Champmorin, an experienced engineer. Maeſtricht was inveſted early in February, by General Miranda, with 12,000 men on the banks of the Meuſe and 6,000 on the right; and by the 23d of that month the works were all completed. On the following day the French general ſummoned the Prince of Heſſe, who commanded there; but his anſwer was a direct refuſal to capitulate. The French then commenced a heavy fire from their batteries, and, according to the account of the general, the town was on fire in ſeveral places. While the French were conſtructing their works, the garriſon made two ſallies, but with little ſucceſs.

In the mean time, General Dumourier aſſembled his army in the vicinity of Antwerp. Previous to his entering the Dutch territories, he publiſhed a manifeſto addreſſed to the Batavians, as he thought proper to term them, exhorting them to emancipate themſelves at once from the tyrannical yoke of the ſtadtholder. The French army under Dumourier conſiſted of twenty-one battalions, only two of which however were troops of the line; he eſtimates them himſelf at about 13,700 men, including cavalry and light troops. This army entered the Dutch territories on the 17th of February, but it was the 22d before the general was enabled to proceed from Antwerp to join it. His firſt movement was to block up Breda, by means of his right diviſion under General d'Arcon; and Colonel le Clerc, with the left, was ordered at the ſame time to block up Bergen-op-Zoom. The governors of thoſe places abandoned all their outworks; and Breda, at the time of its attack, was in a ſtate of inundation. On the 23d of February, Count Byland, the governor of Breda, was ſummoned to ſurrender; and on his refuſal, General d'Arcon, without opening the trenches, mounted two batteries, with four mortars and four howitzers, very near the town, on the ſide of the village of Hage. The bombardment continued for ſome hours, but ceaſed at night. On the ſucceeding day the French renewed the attack with great ſpirit; and one of Dumourier's aides-du-camp being diſpatched to renew the ſummons, with aſſurances that the general was preparing to bring up his whole force, the governor was terrified into a capitulation. The garriſon was allowed the honours of war, and only twenty men were loſt on both ſides. The fort of Klundert was taken by Dumourier on the twenty-ſixth. It was defended with great valour by Lieutenant-colonel Weſtphalian; but his garriſon amounted to only 150 men.

Dumourier next diſpatched General Berneron to the attack of Williamſtadt, and General d'Arcon to Gertruydenberg, and on the fourth of March the latter place ſurrendered on capitulation. At this place ended the triumphs of Dumourier. Williamſtadt was cloſely inveſted from the 23d of February to the 16th of March, 1793, during which time it was twice ſummoned to ſurrender; but the gallant Major-general Boetzlaar, its governor, gave for anſwer, That he would defend it with the laſt drop of his blood. Upon this, a moſt violent bombardment and cannonade took place, with red-hot balls, bombs, and grenades. Only two houſes in the town were burnt by the enemy's ſhells; not one however eſcaped being pierced through with cannon-ſhot. The principal ſtreet, leading from the great church to the main guard, was filled on each ſide with the ruins of the houſes. A twenty-four pound ſhot paſſed through the dial on the top of the church, and carried the half of it away. Near a hundred large trees, growing within the ramparts, were ſhivered to pieces by ſhots and ſhells. Several red-hot balls paſſed through the roof of the governor's houſe. The Prince of Orange's arms were battered down from the inſide of the main-guard gate by a twenty-four pound ſhot from a battery on the other ſide the town. Nine of the heavieſt braſs ordnance on the Dutch ramparts were either diſmounted, or the carriages ſhot to pieces; principally from the inceſſant fire of a maſqued battery, which the French had raiſed behind a ſmall wood on the ſhore of the Maeze, to the S. E. of the fort. On the 16th of March, about ten in the morning, the French ſet fire to their works, and began to retreat, having ſuſtained a heavy cannonade from the garriſon, and being galled and mowed down by a well-directed fire from the Engliſh gun-boats and Syren Britiſh frigate, commanded by Captain Manley, which took them in flank, and did prodigious execution. At this inſtant the brave governor diſpatched a detachment from the garriſon to harraſs their rear, which they ſo well effected as to take ſeveral pieces of cannon, two mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition and ſiege-utenſils, which were ſafely conveyed into the town. It is remarkable that, during the whole of this tremendous ſiege, only twelve inhabitants and eight ſoldiers were killed:—the French it is conjectured, loſt about 800 men. General Boetzlaar, the gallant defender of this fortreſs, was at this time in his eighty-ſixth year.

The diſtreſſes of the French during the ſiege, particularly on the Maeſe ſide, muſt have been almoſt inſurmountable; having no ſhelter even from the inclemency of the weather, but in damp holes cut in the beach, and being only ſlightly ſcreened by reeds taken from the river ſide. During the erection of their works, they were expoſed between the two ſevere fires of the fort batterries, and thoſe of the Syren frigate and gun-boats, for two days and nights ſucceſſively. The horrors of the ſcene they left behind are almoſt too ſhocking for recital; the mangled bodies of the French lying uninterred upon their redoubts; and even that of an officer, who laſt fell, all with the ears and fingers cut off, and carried away as relics of triumph!—formed a ſpectacle every way painful to humanity.

About this time, two thouſand Britiſh guards were ſent over to Holland under the command of the Duke of York; and a body of twelve thouſand Hanoverians were ordered to march immediately to the ſame quarter, to be alſo under his royal highneſs's command. To add to the embarraſſments of France, Spain was now ſuppoſed ready to accede to the armed confederacy. After the melancholy death of Louis, it may well be ſuppoſed that the King of Spain could not be very friendly diſpoſed towards the French nation; and, preſſed by the combined powers, it is not improbable that he meditated hoſtilities. The convention, however, determined to anticipate his declaration, and on the 7th of March paſſed a decree of war againſt his moſt catholic majeſty.

Before reviewing the reverſe of fortune which the French experienced in the Netherlands, it may be proper to advert to the diſaſtrous expedition which was undertaken againſt Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. A French fleet under the command of Admiral Truguet, which had ſailed from Toulon, anchored before the town, and commenced a vigorous cannonade againſt it on the 24th of January; but as all the tranſports with the land-forces were not arrived, the admiral ordered the firing to ceaſe on the 29th. The camp volunteers, being impatient to land, after uſing every argument to convince them of the extreme danger of making ſuch an attempt without a ſufficient force, M. Truguet at length conſented, and gave orders for their landing on the 14th of February. Four ſhips and two bomb-ketches were poſted before the town, and nearly the ſame force was placed between the town and a ſmall mountain defended by batteries; another came to anchor before the town to batter it, and three ſhips and three frigates were employed in covering the landing of the troops. Of all theſe ſhips, the Themiſtocles alone did execution; but ſhe was ſet on fire by a red-hot ball, and the captain was wounded in the leg, and died four days after. In the night the Themiſtocles was obliged to retire. The Patriot, which kept up a continual fire for three days and three nights, expended all her ammunition, and had eight men wounded, ſome of them in a dangerous manner. The Juno frigate had ſeven wounded. The deſcent was effected under the command of General Caſa Bianca, with fifteen hundred troops of the line, and three thouſand national volunteers; another deſcent was to be made at ſome diſtance, and a certain ſignal was agreed on. This ſignal was obſerved in the iſland, and the troops heard the following words pronounced through a ſpeaking trumptet:—"Citizens come on ſhore; we have put to flight the enemy." The troops, however, ſuſpected the deluſion, having obſerved with their glaſſes, that the invitation came from perſons in the Sardinian uniform. The ſecond deſcent therefore was countermanded. Caſa Bianca, however formed a camp at the diſtance of a league from the town, with fifteen pieces of cannon and ſome mortars; but the troops were ſeized with an inſtantaneous panic, they miſtook the word of command, and the patroles fired upon each other; the ſoldiers imagining themſelves too weak in number, requeſted to be re-embarked, and ſome of them without orders began to retire towards the ſhore. In this diſagreeable ſituation, the general was compelled to re-embark his troops, and it was with great difficulty that he was able even to ſave his cannon. When the troops returned on-board, Truguet immediately ſet ſail. The Leopard, a ſhip of the line, ran on ſhore, but the crew were ſaved. A tartan, which ran on ſhore alſo, was burnt by the Sardinians.

This failure of the attack upon Sardinia was a trivial misfortune, in compariſon with the haſty retreat and final defection of Dumourier in the Netherlands. At this period the French armies were in a reduced and impoveriſhed ſtate; partly from the return of the volunteers and national guards, but chiefly from the groſs neglect of the French miniſters. As they were, however, ſtill numerous, General Miranda continued to preſs the ſiege of Maeſtricht with a conſiderable force; while General la Noue, with the covering army, was encamped at Herve. The head-quarters of General Valence were at Liege, while his out-poſts extended to Aix-la-Chapelle and the banks of the Roer. On the firſt of March, General Clairfait, having paſſed the Roer in the night, attacked the French poſts as well on the ſide of Durn as on that of Juliers, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loſs of two thouſand men, twelve pieces of cannon, thirty ammunition waggons, and the military cheſt. The following day the archduke attacked ſeveral French batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon.

On the third, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg obtained a ſignal victory over the French, and drove them from Aix-la-Chapelle even to the vicinity of Liege. Early in the morning the Auſtrians poſſeſſed themſelves of the heights about Aix, from which they kept up an inceſſant fire; and at one o'clock a formal action took place in the town. The French formed themſelves into a ſquare in the market place, but, upon the approach of the chaſſeurs of Badul, they began to give way; and, being at the ſame moment vigorouſly attacked on all ſides, a moſt dreadful carnage enſued. A French officer, well mounted, attempted to make his eſcape, in order to prevent a detachment of national guards, then marching to the ſpot, from falling into the hands of the allied army; but the bridle of his horſe was ſeized, he was ſhot through the body, and the detachment he meant to ſave were cut to pieces by the Pruſſians. The French fought with great bravery, and the numbers killed affords a ſtriking inſtance of the obſtinacy of the combat; 4000

French were left dead upon the ſpot, 1600 were made priſoners, and twenty-two pieces of cannon were taken.

The defeat of the third, was the ſignal for raiſing the ſiege of Maeſtricht. On the fourth, General Miranda learned, that the allies were advancing with more than thirty-five thouſand men towards Wick, with the evident intention of throwing ſuccours into Maeſtricht. The general, therefore, had ſcarcely time to withdraw the body of three thouſand men, which were poſted there under the command of General Leveneur, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the allies. The bombardment was however continued in the uſual manner; and Maeſtricht ſuffered conſiderably from the conflagration. At twelve o'clock at night Miranda gave orders for a general retreat, having ſent before him all the artillery, which arrived ſafe at Tongres, being covered with a rear-guard of four thouſand men. On the ſucceeding day the French were again attacked at Tongres, and forced to retreat to Hans and St. Tron, where Miranda and Valence formed a conjunction; the latter having evacuated Liege, and abandoned it to the allies. They were alſo joined by the troops under General Iſler, Lamorliere, and Champmorin; and after remaining there till the 8th, to refreſh, and having repulſed the advanced guard of the allies who attempted to diſlodge them, they moved on that day towards Tirlemont.

In this critical ſituation of affairs, Dumourier ought to have abandoned his enterpriſe againſt Holland, and moved with his whole force to the ſupport of the flying generals. On the contrary, he left his army under the command of General De Flers, "whom (he ſays) he knew to be incapable of diſcharging the truſt," with orders to take up his quarters at Dort. The army in Holland was totally diſpirited by the departure of the general; the Dutch navy in the mean time was re-inforced, and the Pruſſians advanced by the way of Bois-le-duc. Inſtead of proceeding to Dort, De Flers was compelled to throw himſelf into Breda, with ſix battalions and two hundred cavalry, and the reſt of the army retired to Antwerp. The ſatisfaction expreſſed by the army in Liege on being rejoined by their former victorious commander is ſcarcely to be deſcribed; order and confidence ſeemed to be at once eſtabliſhed, and the hopes of the ſoldiers anticipated a renewal of the glories of Jemappe. The ſtrength and vigour however of the French army were gone, and their commander was no longer the ſame Dumourier who had triumphantly over-run the Netherlands in the preceding year.

On the 15th of March the Auſtrians attacked Tirlemont, in which the French had only four hundred men, and which they carried after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the town being large and incapable of defence. On the following day, however, they were again driven by Dumourier from that place, and compelled to retreat to St. Tron. On the 18th, a general engagement took place near Neerwinden; the French army being covered by Dormael, and on the right by Landen. The action continued with great obſtinacy on both ſides, from ſeven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Auſtrian cavalry, coming up, put them entirely to flight. The loſs in each army was great. The French diſplayed conſiderable courage and addreſs, but were overpowered by numbers, and perhaps by the treachery of their own commanders, and by the ſuperior ſkill and diſcipline of their enemies. The whole of the loſs Dumourier ſtates at more than three thouſand; and that of the imperialiſts at one thouſand four hundred. The French alſo loſt a great part of their cannon.

The battle of Neerwinden was fatal to the French; for, beſides the loſs juſt ſtated, the general obſerves that upwards of ſix thouſand men immediately deſerted, and proceeded towards Bruſſels and France. The retreat of the French was, however, made in good order, and they continued ſkirmiſhing till they reached Golſenhove, which is about one league ſouth of Tirlemont. Here the French formed in order of battle, and the two armies reſted the whole night upon their arms. On the 19th but little was done, and on the night of the 20th, Dumourier took-poſſeſſion of the heights of Cumtich, behind Tirlemont, from which place he had time to withdraw his magazines. As Dumourier, however, if we may truſt his own account, clearly perceived that he could not long maintain himſelf in this poſition, and that it afforded no protection either to Louvain or Bruſſels, he availed himſelf of the 20th, while the Auſtrians remained before Tirlemont, to paſs the Welpe and encamp near Banterſem, having his right to Op and Neerwelpe, and his left on the heights, and in the woods in front of Zwellenberg. Here he was attacked by the advanced guard of the allies, who were however repulſed. While Dumourier was engaged in repelling this aſſault, Danton and La Croix arrived in the camp, as commiſſioners from the convention; and after receiving ſome explanations from him relative to the letter which he had written to the convention, on the affairs of Belgium, they returned.

On the 21ſt, Dumourier judged it proper to take poſt nearer Louvain, and on the following day he was attacked. The action was bloody, and laſted the whole day; but the Imperialiſts were compelled to retreat with great loſs. On the evening preceding this action, Dumourier ſent Colonel Montjoye to the headquarters of the Prince of Cobourg, to treat reſpecting the wounded and the priſoners. "He there," ſays Dumourier, "ſaw Colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon merit, who obſerved to Colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to both parties to agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms." Dumourier, who had deeply conſidered the ſituation of his army, ſent

Montjoye again to Colonel Mack on the 22d, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the ſame propoſition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening. The following articles were verbally agreed to: Firſt, That the Imperialiſts ſhould not again attack the French army in great force, nor Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperialiſts. Secondly, That on the faith of this tacit armiſtice, the French ſhould retire to Bruſſels ſlowly, and in good order, without any oppoſition. And laſtly, That Dumourier and Colonel Mack ſhould have another interview after the evacuation of Bruſſels, in order to ſettle further articles that might then be mutually deemed neceſſary. Either diſtruſtful of Dumourier, however, or from other motives, the Imperialiſts, under General Clairfait, attacked an advanced guard of the French, poſted at Pillenberk; in conſequence of which, the latter were obliged to abandon Louvain, and Dumourier tranſported his wounded, and the flour for his army, in boats to Mechlin. Yet Dumourier, it appears, continued faithfully to obſerve, on his part, the terms of the agreement; and he allows that the Prince of Cobourg ſo far adhered to them, that he remained three days at Louvain, ſending only ſmall detachments to hang on the rear-guard of the French.

On the 25th of March, Dumourier and his army paſſed through Bruſſels. The citadel of Antwerp was the only fortified place that he was able to keep, which he garriſoned with two thouſand men, and ſix months proviſion, in order to preſerve a communication with the troops which had been left at Breda and Gertruydenberg. His deſign, he ſays, was to have formed a ſtrong line without the territory of France, to the left by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenberg, till he could recruit his forces; but the line in one part was broken by the neceſſary evacuation of Namur.

On the 27th, Dumourier arrived at Ath, where he received orders from the convention to arreſt the Colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry, and General Miranda. On the ſame day Colonel Mack arrived at Ath. A further-agreement was then entered into between that officer and Dumourier, the terms of which were, "That the French army ſhould remain ſometime longer in the poſſeſſion of Mons, Tournoy, and Courtray, without being haraſſed by the imperial army; that Dumourier, who *did not conceal from Colonel Mack his deſign of marching againſt Paris*, ſhould, when their deſigns were ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the Imperialiſts, who ſhould only act as auxiliaries in the accompliſhment of their plan; that in the caſe of Dumourier's having no need of aſſiſtance, which was greatly to be deſired by both parties, the Imperialiſts ſhould not advance farther than the frontier of France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium ſhould be the price of this condeſcenſion; but if Dumourier could not effect the re-eſtabliſhment of a limited monarchy of himſelf, he ſhould indicate the number and the kind of troops which the Imperialiſts ſhould furniſh, to aid in the project, and which would be entirely under Dumourier's direction. Dumourier made Colonel Mack acquainted with his deſign of marching the following day to Tournay, with the march of General Neuilly to Mons, and of the army of Holland to Courtray. It was finally decided, that, in order to combine the operations of the imperial troops under the Prince of Cobourg and thoſe under Prince Hohenloe at the time when Dumourier ſhould march to Paris, Condé ſhould be put into the hands of the Auſtrians as a pledge; that the Auſtrians ſhould garriſon the town, but without any pretenſions to the ſovereignty, and on the condition that it ſhould be reſtored to France at the concluſion of the war, and after an indemnity ſhould have been ſettled between the two parties; but that all the other towns belonging to France ſhould, in the caſe of the conſtitutional party needing the aſſiſtance of the Imperialiſts, receive garriſons, one half of which ſhould be French troops, and the other half Imperialiſts, under the orders of the French. General Valence, General Thouvenot, the Duke de Chartres, and Colonel Montjoye, aſſiſted at this conference."

Dumourier arrived on the 28th at Tournay, and here he learned that General Neuilly's diviſion had abandoned Mons, and thrown themſelves into Condé and Valenciennes. The deſigns of Dumourier did not, however, paſs unſuſpected at Paris: three commiſſioners from the executive power had therefore been diſpatched under pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium, but really with a view of ſounding his intentions. The interview was violent. Dumourier expreſſed himſelf in terms of invective againſt the Jacobins: "They will ruin France," ſaid he; "but I will ſave it, though they ſhould call me a Cæſar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." The commiſſioners carried the converſation no farther. They departed, and returned next day, determined to diſſemble, in order the better to diſcover the extent of his views. Dumourier now became more explicit. He ſaid, that the convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence—that the volunteers were poltroons; but that all their efforts would be vain. "As for the reſt," added he, "there ſtill remains a party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my fixed intention—and the convention will not exiſt three months longer." The commiſſioners aſked him by what means he could replace the convention? His anſwer was, "The means are already formed." They aſked him whether he did not wiſh to have the laſt conſtitution? He replied, "that it was a fooliſh one; he expected a better from Condorcet: the firſt conſtitution with all its imperfections was preferable. When they aſked him whether he wiſhed to have a king? He replied—"We muſt have one." He alſo told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a negociation with the Prince of Cobourg for an exchange of priſoners, and for the purpoſe of withdrawing from Holland thoſe eighteen battalions which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him, that thoſe negociations with Cobourg, and the peace which he wiſhed to procure for France, would not change republicans into royaliſts, he repeated the aſſertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and obſerved, that ſince the battle of Jemappe he had wept over his ſucceſs in ſo bad a cauſe.

The converſation of Dumourier with the commiſſioners was no ſooner made public in Paris, than the ſuſpicions of thoſe who entertained apprehenſions of his treachery were converted into certainty. The general himſelf had been previouſly ordered to the bar of the convention; he was ſuperſeded by Bournonville, the miniſter of war; and four commiſſioners were ſent to the army of the north, with powers to ſuſpend and arreſt all generals and military officers whom they ſhould ſuſpect, and bring them to the bar. As the commiſſioners wiſhed to proceed with caution, they halted at Liſle; and diſpatched a ſummons to Dumourier to appear in that city, and anſwer the charges againſt him. He had, however, already arranged his plan—the Rubicon was paſſed—and he returned only for anſwer, that he could not leave the army for a moment, while the enemy was cutting him off from every retreat—that he would only enter Liſle to purge it of thoſe traitors who infeſted it—and that he valued his head too much to ſubmit it to an arbitrary tribunal.

On the 29th of March, Dumourier learned that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops which he had ſtationed there; and that they had effected their retreat to the territories of France. On the following

ing day, he reſolved to raiſe the camp at Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. In the mean time he ſent orders, through the medium of Colonel Mack, to the garriſons of Breda and Gertruydenberg, to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back to France. He alſo ordered General Miacziuſki, who was at Orchies, to march with his diviſion to Liſle, and arreſt the commiſſioners of the convention; but that general, imprudently divulging the object of his miſſion, no ſooner entered the city than the gates were ſhut upon him; he was ſent to Paris, and brought to the ſcaffold. By the patriotiſm of General Ferrand and Ecuyer, Dumourier was alſo fruſtrated in an attempt to render himſelf maſter of Condé and Valenciennes.

To arreſt an able general at the head of his army was indeed a bold and daring meaſure. The commiſſioners, however, reſolved to hazard the attempt, and accordingly on the *firſt of April* proceed to St. Amand, the head-quarters of Dumourier; and, being admitted into his preſence, explained to him the object of their miſſion. After a conference of ſome hours, the general, not finding that he could purſuade them to favour his intentions, gave the ſignal for a body of ſoldiers who were in waiting, and ordered the miniſter of war, Bournonville (who was ſent to ſuperſede him,) and the commiſſioners, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, immediately to be conveyed to General Clairfait's head-quarters at Tournay, as hoſtages for the ſafety of the royal family.

Dumourier, notwithſtanding his ſplendid talents, appears, however, to have groſsly miſtaken the diſpoſition of his army. They might be diſpoſed to reſent the affront which was offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; but when he came to propoſe to them the reſtoration of royalty in the perſon of the prince, and to turn their arms againſt their country, the prejudices or patriotiſm of

Frenchmen aſſumed their wonted influence, and they felt it their duty to diſobey. Dumourier loſt no time in diſpatching a meſſenger, to acquaint Colonel Mack with the arreſt of the commiſſioners, and to appoint the time and place for a conference to conclude the terms of their treaty. During the night he compoſed a manifeſto addreſſed to the army, which he digeſted and put in order the following day.

On the morning of the third, Dumourier went to the camp, and addreſſed the troops, who, he ſays, appeared to approve his conduct. He then proceeded to St. Amand, in which place was the train of artillery, who alſo expreſſed their ſatisfaction. At St. Amand he thought it prudent to ſleep, for the purpoſe of marking his confidence in the troops there. The whole of the third, he ſays, paſſed with as much ſucceſs as he could expect, except that ſlight murmurs were heard among ſome of the battalions of the volunteers. Early on the 4th, he left Thouvenot at St. Amand, and departed himſelf for Condé; but had not approached that fortreſs within half a league, before he was met by an officer diſpatched by General Neuilly to inform him, that the garriſon was in the greateſt fermentation, and that it would not be ſafe for him to enter the place. He ſent back the officer with an order to Neuilly, to ſend the eighteenth regiment of cavalry to eſcort him. He had juſt before overtaken a column of volunteers marching towards Condé, who however did not then attempt to moleſt him. While they were yet in ſight it was that General Neuilly's meſſenger arrived; and he had ſcarcely delivered his meſſage to the officer, when the head of the column quitted the high road, and ran towards him with ſhouts and menaces, and an univerſal exclamation of "Stop, ſtop." Dumourier, now perceiving himſelf in the moſt imminent danger, mounted a horſe belonging to a domeſtic of the Duke de Chartres, and eſcaped through a dreadful diſcharge of muſketry, which the whole column poured upon him and his aſſociates. Finding it impoſſible to gain the camp of Maulde, he proceeded along the Scheld, and paſſed the ferry near the village of Wikers, on the imperial territory. From this place, he continued his route on foot to Bury, where in the evening he met Colonel Mack, and paſſed the night in digeſting the proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the fifth with that of General Dumourier. It was alſo agreed, at this conference, that as ſoon as the general ſhould be maſter of Condé, he ſhould deliver it to the Auſtrians to ſerve as a magazine and place of arms, in caſe of aid being demanded by Dumourier.

The proclamation of Dumourier contained a recapitulation of his ſervices to the French republic; a ſtatement of the cruel neglect which his army had experienced in the preceding winter, and of the outrages practiſed by the Jacobins towards the generals of the republic, and particularly towards himſelf; the reaſons which induced him to arreſt the commiſſioners; and a glowing picture of the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of anarchy in France. It concluded with an exhortation to the French, to reſtore the conſtitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791; and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for the reſtoration of that conſtitution; and that as ſoon as he had effected that purpoſe, he would for ever abandon every public function, and in ſolitude conſole himſelf with having contributed to the happineſs of his fellow-citizens. The manifeſto of the Prince of Cobourg, which accompanied the preceding, reflected great honour on that general; and it can never be ſufficiently regretted that the terms which it held forth were ever departed from by the allied powers. It paſſed high encomiums on the diſintereſted and patriotic views of General Dumourier. It announced that the allied powers were no longer to be conſidered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries in the war; that they had no other object than to co-operate with General Dumourier in giving to France her conſtitutional king, and *the conſtitution ſhe formed for herſelf.* On his word of honour he pledged himſelf, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conqueſts, but ſolely for the ends above ſpecified. The prince declared farther, that any ſtrong places which ſhould be put into his hands ſhould be conſidered as ſacred depoſits, to be delivered up as ſoon as the conſtitutional government ſhould be eſtabliſhed in France, or as ſoon as General Dumourier ſhould demand them.

On the 5th of April, at day-break, Dumourier proceeded with an eſcort of fifty imperial dragoons to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde. He harangued his troops; but, though there was no open oppoſition, he obſerved ſome indications of that ſpirit, and ſeveral factious groups aſſembled in different parts. His next deſign was to go to St. Amand; but as he was entering the city, he was met by an aid-de-camp, who informed him that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by ſome emiſſaries from Valenciennes, had riſen upon their general, and were marching to that fortreſs. The money, however, and the equipage of the officers, which remained in the city without a guard, he commanded to be conducted to Rumegies. The deſertion of the corps of artillery was the ſignal for a general revolt. General Lamorliere, on whom Dumourier placed ſome dependence, immediately took his departure for Valenciennes. Dumourier was himſelf at Rumigies when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was now left but to provide for his perſonal ſafety. He mounted his horſe, attended by General and Colonel Thouvenot, the Duke of Chartres, Colonel Montjoye, and a few others of his ſtaff. He was followed in the courſe of the day by about ſeven hundred horſe and eight hundred infantry. The military cheſt which Dumourier had removed was recovered by a party of French chaſſeurs, and brought to Valenciennes. At Bury, Dumourier found Colonel Mack, and proceeded with him to Mons. It was agreed that the Imperialiſts ſhould immediately lay ſiege to Condé. The rank of *feldzuigmeiſter* (general of artillery) was conferred on Dumourier; but the ſuſpicions of the allies never permitted him to enjoy it in any active capacity.

The little ſucceſs attending this tranſaction ſhould have taught the combined powers the impoſſibility of conquering France; and the little dependence to be placed on the vain hopes with which they had deluded themſelves reſpecting the co-operation of the French people in effecting a counter-revolution. They had ſeen a whole army, who had been manifeſtly attached to their general, under whom they had conquered and bled, refuſe to obey that general when he propoſed to them to take arms againſt their country, though under the ſpecious pretext of reſtoring a conſtitution of which it was probable many of them approved. That general too was a man of tranſcendent abilities. He certainly had not been well treated by the miniſters and the convention; and his caſe had in the commencement undoubtedly intereſted the army in his behalf. He was ſupported in theſe meaſures by officers whom the ſoldiers could not but love and reſpect; and yet the attachment to the cauſe of liberty and their country roſe in their minds ſuperior to every other paſſion.

Some time previous to this, Admiral Macbride, with a ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, had been ſent againſt Oſtend; he attacked the caſtle on the 30th of March 1793, and in a few hours took poſſeſſion of the whole garriſon. The expedition was conducted with ſo much ſecrecy, that at twelve o'clock at noon the French had not the ſmalleſt idea of an approaching enemy; but an Engliſh ſquadron appearing off, and ſtanding in for the harbour, they ſoon became greatly alarmed.

They fired from the batteries at the Engliſh veſſels; but, ſeeing them reſolute in ſtanding in, they ſpiked their guns, and retreated with the utmoſt precipitation. The terror of the French was much increaſed by the inhabitants, who told them that each of the cutters had 500 Britiſh troops on-board. Before the French left the town, the inhabitants aſſembled to cut down the tree of liberty; when the French dragoons of the rear-guard galloped in amongſt them, and cut down all before them: a number of perſons were deſperately wounded.—Only one veſſel eſcaped out of the harbour of Oſtend. She was loaded with oil, and was chaſed into Dunkirk by one of the Engliſh cutters. The reſt, to a conſiderable number, loaded with corn, proviſions, ſtores, &c. were made prizes to the Britiſh ſhips of war; the garriſon, together with the French magazine of naval and military ſtores, ſtand of colours, cannon, baggage, &c. were taken poſſeſſion of by the Engliſh officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, in the name of his Britannic majeſty: and the Engliſh colours were immediately hoiſted in the caſtle and garriſon over thoſe of the French, to the inexpreſſible joy of the inhabitants.

A congreſs of the repreſentatives of the combined powers was aſſembled at Antwerp on the 8th of April 1793. At this congreſs were preſent the Prince of Orange and his two ſons, and his excellency Vander Spiegel; the Duke of York and Lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain; the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, Counts Metternick, Staremberg, and Mercy Dargenteau; with the Pruſſian, Spaniſh, and Neapolitan, envoys. Dumourier requeſted permiſſion to attend, but was peremptorily refuſed that honour.—On the deciſion of this aſſembly the peace of Europe and the fate of nations depended. The particulars of what paſſed on this important occaſion have never yet fully tranſpired. It is, however, well known, that a plan of active operations againſt France was reſolved on. The Prince of Cobourg immediately unſaid all that he had ſet forth under the pledge of his honour with ſo much ſolemnity on the 5th; and a ſcheme of conqueſt was formally announced in a new proclamation, iſſued by himſelf on the 9th of the ſame month. It was obvious that this ſtep could have no other tendency than to deſtroy all confidence in the profeſſions of the allied powers. It induced the French to believe that the whole of the proclamation of the 5th was a mere deluſion, only intended to impoſe on their credulity.

The ſituation of France was at this period ſingularly critical and dangerous. By the defection of Dumourier the whole army of the north was diſſolved, and in part diſbanded; while that of the allies lay upon the frontier, numerous, well diſciplined, and victorious. On the ſide of the Rhine, the Pruſſians advanced in immenſe force, and threatened the ſiege of Mentz, even before the works for its defence were completed. But, however formidable the attack from without might appear, it was perhaps leſs to be dreaded than thoſe alarming internal commotions which took place at the ſame time. To effect completely the ſubvertion of the republican government in France, it was a part of the great plan to excite by a bold and inſtantaneous effort the royaliſt party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the adjacent provinces of Britanny and Poitou, now diſtinguiſhed by the names of La Vendée and La Loire.

Notwithſtanding the ſevere decrees of the convention, immenſe numbers of the emigrants had ſecretly reſorted thither in the winter of 1792, as the vicinity of theſe departments to the ſea afforded a fair proſpect of freſh ſupplies of men and military ſtores, as well as of the co-operation of the naval powers. It appeared like a concerted plan, that this inſurrection ſhould break out almoſt at the inſtant of Dumourier's defection; as if by two tremendous exploſions the new republic was at once to be overwhelmed in ruin.

The firſt diſturbances were conſidered by the convention as merely the reſult of a repugnance in the people to the modes which had been adopted for recruiting the army; but before the latter end of March, the inſurgents aſſumed a more formidable appearance as to numbers, and their proceedings evinced the rebellion to be the reſult of previous arrangement. They were diſtinguiſhed by white caps, and by other counter-revolutionary enſigns, and their watch words were *Vive le roi*, and *Vivent les Anglois!* They profeſſed to act by the authority of Monſieur, the regent of France, and in ſeveral rencounters with the national guards were victorious, particularly in an action which took place near Chantanay, which was immediately ſucceeded by the plunder of that city. On the 23d of March the convention were informed that the inſurgents had made themſelves maſters of the diſtricts of Cholet, Montaigne, and Cliſſon, and that they had defeated General Marce, who had been ſent to quell them. The city of Nantes was at the ſame time in a ſtate of ſiege, and the number of royaliſts encamped before that city were eſtimated at not leſs than 40,000. In the beginning of April, General Berruyer was appointed to command againſt the royaliſts. Notwithſtanding the efforts of the convention, however, before the end of that month they poſſeſſed themſelves of an extent of fifty leagues of country, and had defeated the republicans in two pitched battles, in which they took an immenſe quantity of artillery and military ſtores, and a number of priſoners.

The commiſſioners, in the mean time, who had been ſent to the army, omitted no means of reſtoring order and invigorating the ſpirit of the French army. The ſtandard of the republic was no ſooner ſet up, than the battalions which had diſperſed from the camp of Maulde reſorted to it; and General Dampierre, who had evinced his patriotiſm by his reſiſtance to the orders of Dumourier, was proviſionally appointed by the commiſſioners to the chief command. In leſs than a week, a week, Dampierre had reſtored order and diſcipline to their diſorganized troops, and was enabled to lead them to action, if not to victory. On the 13th of April the advanced poſts of the French army under that general were attacked in ſix different points, but the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. General Dampierre at the ſame time was enabled to reſume the camp of Famars. On the 14th and 15th, the advanced guard was again aſſailed; on the former of thoſe days, they were compelled by ſuperior numbers to give way, but on the ſucceeding day they were victorious. The firing continued from four in the morning till eight in the evening, with as much violence as at the battle of Neerwinden. On the 23d, the Auſtrians again attacked the French near Maubeuge, but after a conflict of ten hours were repulſed with conſiderable loſs; and on the firſt of May General Dampierre attempted to diſlodge the enemy from ſeveral villages of which they were in poſſeſſion, but in his turn experienced a repulſe. On this occaſion the Auſtrians had 600 killed and 2000 wounded, and the French had 300 killed and 600 wounded.

An action of a more ſerious nature took place on the 8th of May. At one o'clock in the morning the four battalions of guards, one battalion of the Hanoverians, and the Auſtrian cavalry, headed by the Duke of York, began their march from Tournay for Maulde, which place they reached about eight in the morning. They took poſt in the camp, and the Pruſſians immediately marched on to St. Amand and Vicogne. Dampierre advanced to diſlodge them; and at nine o'clock the action commenced, which continued, during the former part of the day, with great vigour on both ſides. At five, however, the Pruſſians began to be hard preſſed by the numbers of the French, and ſent to the Duke of York for aſſiſtance. The Coldſtream, the third regiment, and the grenadiers and light infantry, immediately marched out, leaving the firſt regiment and the Hanoverians in the camp. The Coldſtream made an immediate attack upon the French with the utmoſt ardour and ſpirit. They repulſed them, and were vigorouſly purſuing their ſucceſs, but found themſelves unexpectedly expoſed to the fire of a French battery. They coolly received the whole fire of the French, both grape-ſhot and muſquetry, which they returned with great effect; but, finding it impoſſible to carry the battery, they retired in perfect order. In this attack one officer (Enſign Howard) was wounded, two ſerjeants were killed, and three wounded; twenty-ſeven rank and file were killed, and forty-two wounded. The other battalions received orders to advance, and were poſted in the wood. The French mean-while kept up a very briſk fire upon the road by which they advanced, but fortunately only two men were ſlightly wounded by it. The Britiſh artillery fired with very great effect, and was extremely well ſerved. The troops remained at the poſts which they had taken in the woods till it was dark, and then marched back to St. Amand. The firſt attack on the part of the French had commenced at ſeven in the morning. The whole was not over till nine in the evening. General Dampierre, who commanded the French, was ſtruck by a cannon ball, which cut his thigh quite off. He was borne from the field by his own ſoldiers, who, as well as the Pruſſians, appeared much concerned at this dreadful accident. He died on the night of the 9th leaving the command in the hands of General Lamarche. In this action the Auſtrians loſt in killed and wounded 500 men, and the Pruſſians 300: of the Engliſh troops, who were engaged, and who ſuffered greatly, no official return was made. The loſs of the French was eſtimated at 4000.

From this period on the 23d, little of importance occured. On that day it was determined by the allies to attempt to diſlodge the French from their fortified camp on the heights of Famars, which covered and protected the town of Valenciennes. At day-break the Britiſh and Hanoverians aſſembled under the command of the Duke of York, and the Auſtrian and German auxiliaries under the Prince of Cobourg and General Clairfait. A thick fog prevented for ſome time the advance of the troops; but the engagement ſoon became general, and continued through the whole of that day; the French maintaining their ground with great reſolution and courage. The ſuperiority of the allied armies, and ſpirited behaviour of the Britiſh troops, manifeſted itſelf in a very early part of the engagement, whereby the French were driven from ſeveral of their redoubts. The enemy was attacked by four columns of the Britiſh troops, one of which was commanded by the Duke of York, whoſe object was to turn the right of the enemy, which he effected in a maſterly manner, without one Britiſh officer having ſuffered on the occaſion. The loſs of the Britiſh troops, though much diſtinguiſhed on this day, was very trifling indeed, there being no officer either killed or wounded, and only 16 non-commiſſioned officers and privates killed. The fine Hanoverian regiment, called the garde du corps, behaved moſt gallantly, and ſuffered in proportion, having three of its officers killed, four wounded, and from ſixty to ſeventy privates killed. The Duke of York then advanced within a ſmall diſtance of the works; but, obſerving from the diſpoſition of the French that they could not be carried without conſiderable loſs, he determined to defer the attack till day-break on the following day. In the courſe of the night, however, the French, apprehenſive of the conſequences, and probably much weakened by the action, abandoned their camp, and withdrew partly into Valenciennes, while another party retired to Denain, towards Bouchain and Cambray. No official return was made of the loſs of the allies; but on both ſides it muſt have been very conſiderable. The ſucceſs on the 23d enabled the allies to lay formal ſiege to Valenciennes.

ciennes. Condé had been inveſted from the beginning of April, and the communication entirely cut off between that place and Valenciennes. To re-eſtabliſh that communication was the object of General Dampierre on the 8th of May, when he received the wound of which he died.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting in the north, but little of importance occurred in other parts. In the beginning of May, General Cuſtine, who commanded the army of the Rhine, formed a deſign of cutting off a body of ſeven or eight thouſand men who had advanced as far as Reinzabern; but, to ſucceed, it was neceſſary to amuſe the Pruſſians in all parts, and to deſtroy the effect of the cavalry and infantry which they had near Landau. Had he been to retain the command of this army, he ſaid he ſhould have deferred that enterpriſe till the commencement of June, and then the army, better exerciſed, would have been in a condition to execute it completely; but reflecting that he was about to depart and take upon him the command of the army of the north, he determined to attempt an action, to prevent the Pruſſians from taking advantage of their excellent poſition. He therefore ſent orders to General Houchard to attack in the rear Lemberg and Carlberg with the army of the Moſelle; while Pulli ſhould keep in check, and attack, a Pruſſian corps who had advanced; and while General Sulek, with nine battalions and ſome cavalry, ſhould advance towards Anweiler. The ſame day the garriſon of Landau had orders to occupy the banks of the canal of Anweiler, the vineyards and village of Nuſderf, with ſeveral other poſts, and to give the Pruſſians reaſon to apprehend that they would be attacked in the rear, in caſe they ſhould attempt any movements. He alſo cauſed a report to be ſpread in the Pruſſian army, that the cavalry of the army of the Moſelle had arrived, as well as part of the artillery of Straſburg. In the mean time General Ferrier, who commanded forty battalions, was ordered only to ſhew himſelf to the enemy till he ſhould hear that the engagement had commenced and to attack them in the wood of Rheinzabern, and the Auſtrians who were in it beyond the village.

Notwithſtanding theſe orders, Cuſtine obſerves, that he did not ſee his troops appear till eleven o'clock, at which time General Diretmann had commanded a retreat, becauſe the troops were fatigued, and could neither procure proviſions nor drink. The general himſelf began to march at eight o'clock in the evening, with twenty-ſix battalions and eight regiments, to the heights near Inſheim; but ſeveral unavoidable delays prevented him from arriving at that place till five in the morning. The advanced guard, under the command of General Landremont, kept back the enemy, and prevented them from quitting the foreſt of Gemerſheim. While General Landremont was thus engaging the Auſtrian army, and preventing them from advancing, the main army extended itſelf to the heights of Rulſheim, and proceeded as far as that village. Cuſtine charged two diviſions of dragoons with vigour, who fled after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs; among the number of the dead were three officers. The general obſerved, that had it not been for the infatuation of a battalion, who miſtook the French cavalry for that of the enemy, this day would have been glorious for the troops of the republic; they anſwered all attempts to rally them, only by diſcharges, and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to reſume their ranks. The general was informed that this event was occaſioned by the commander, who began the cry of treachery. He was arreſted, and afterwards deſtroyed himſelf. "This day which ought to have been ſo memorable," added Cuſtine, "terminated by the taking one piece of cannon, and a very great number of priſoners." The Pruſſians were ſoon after enabled to form the ſiege of Mentz. At this period, a degree of treachery ſeems to have pervaded every part of the French territory. On the 2d of April, the popular ſociety of Toulon denounced the Corſican general Paoli as a traitor; he was cited to appear at the bar of the convention, but excuſed himſelf; and the perſons who were ſent to arreſt him declared that the ſervice was too dangerous to be attempted.

The evils that inevitably follow in the train of a great revolution, were felt throughout the whole extent of the French territories; but in no quarter more ſeverely than in their Weſt-India iſlands. At the beginning of the year 1793, the iſland of Martinico was in a ſtate of inſurrection. The majority of the white inhabitants were determined royaliſts, while the negroes and people of colour were furious republicans. To the iſland of St. Domingo two commiſſioners were diſpatched, while the Gironde party was in power, for the purpoſe of reſtoring peace and tranquillity. But theſe commiſſioners, Polverel and Santhonax, rather appeared in the character of apoſtles of diſcord, than of peace. They united with the the people of colour, and a ſhocking ſeries of aſſaſſinations, pillage, and impriſonments, enſued, which compelled the majority of the white coloniſts to ſeek ſhelter in America, or in the Engliſh Weſt-India iſlands. It is peculiarly painful to be obliged to add, that numbers of theſe wretched exiles, in flying from the tyranny of their own countrymen, were intercepted and plundered by Britiſh privateers.

The iſland of Tobago was taken by a Britiſh ſquadron under the command of Vice-admiral Sir John Laforey, on the morning of the 15th of April. Tobago is one of the Caribbee iſlands in the American ocean, ſituate twenty miles north-eaſt of the iſland of Trinity, and one hundred and twenty ſouth of Barbadoes; from which place the expedition ſailed. The troops were under the command of Major-general Cuyler. A detachment of royal artillery, nine companies of the fourth battalion of the 60th regiment, and two flank companies of the 9th regiment, (under the command of Major Baillie,) compoſed the whole of the force. "The Truſty, Nautilus, and Hind, ſchooners, being inſufficient for the reception of the troops," ſays General Cuyler in his diſpatches, "I accepted the offer of Captain Spencer, of the merchant-ſhip Hero, to convey part of the 60th regiment. On the 12th of April we ſailed: on the 14th, at one in the afternoon, we arrived in Great Courland bay. The neceſſary orders having been given for the diſembarkation and diſpoſition of the troops on landing, the whole was on-ſhore by three, together with twenty-five marines from the Truſty, commanded by Major Bright, We immediately advanced within ſight of the enemy's fort, whence I ſent a ſummons to M. Monteil, lieutenant-colonel of the 25th regiment, and commandant of the iſland, to ſurrender. He refuſed."

The ſituation of the enemy's works, which they had lately been ſtrengthening to the utmoſt of their power, was much ſtronger than had been expected and our numbers were unequal to the operations of a ſiege. Seeing there was no time to be loſt, the diſpoſition of attack was ordered by the general to take place in the night. The two light companies of the 9th and 60th regiments, under the command of Major Gordon, (who gallantly requeſted permiſſion to leave the command of his own regiment to lead the light infantry,) were to be ſupported by the two grenadier companies under the command of Major Baillie, and the fourth battalion of the 6th regiment under the command of Captain de Viſme; the reſerve of the marines under Major Bright; the artillery to remain with their guns.

It was now about three o'clock in the morning; and, as the only chance of ſucceſs was ſtorming the works in the dark, Major Gordon began the attack. The fort began a very warm fire of grape-ſhot, but nothing

thing could withſtand the bravery and coolneſs of the Britiſh troops; they never attempted to fire a ſhot, but carried every thing with their bayonets. They got into the ditch of the fort, where they found the rampart high and perpendicular, whereas it had been repreſented to General Cuyler, that they could run up the ramparts of the fort. The men were very much fatigued, and the enemy were keeping up a tremendous fire of grape-ſhot. After a halt of a few minutes Major Gordon called, "God ſave the king, follow me;" which was anſwered by the men with three cheers, and up he went, and a corporal followed, and they pulled up the colours, and about a dozen men by their firelocks. See the Plate. The firſt four were wounded and fell down again, but there were ſoon about twenty men more up, lying on the ſlope of the parapet along-ſide of him, cloſe to the guns (eighteen-pounders) which were firing over them. As ſoon as they found a ſufficient number of men up, they charged into the battery, drove every man from the guns, and formed till they were joined by all the reſt of the men, and then for the firſt time began to fire upon the French, who were drawn up in front of their barracks, and firing from all quarters of the inner ſquare. As ſoon as Major Gordon found all his men up, he ordered the firing to ceaſe, and to charge. In a few minutes M. Monteil, the governor of the iſland, called for quarter, and delivered up his ſword. To the honour of the Britiſh ſoldiers be it told, that, after their commanding officer called out that the governor had ſurrendered, there was not a perſon wounded. They were occupied until daylight ſecuring priſoners, who were more than double the number of the aſſailants.

Encouraged by the diſputes which exiſted between the royaliſts and republicans in Martinico, Admiral Gardner attempted a deſcent upon that iſland alſo, and landed there with about 3000 men. The attempt, however, proved fatal only to the royaliſts, as he found, on his arrival, the republican party too ſtrong, and was obliged to reimbark his troops, even before he could convey away from certain deſtruction the whole of the devoted party, who had probably invited him to undertake the expedition. But it was taken next year.

In Europe the allied powers were chiefly employed, during the remainder of the campaign in the blockade of Condé, Valenciennes, and Mentz. The town of Condé was inveſted (as has been already ſtated) early in April, by a large body of the allied forces, and the works were completed by the 27th. The town was, however, not provided with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions to ſuſtain a long ſiege: the governor (General Chancel) therefore, about this period, ordered the women and children to quit the place; but the Prince of Wirtemberg compelled them again to take refuge in the fortreſs. A few days after, the governor ſent them out a ſecond time, but the Auſtrians, with a brutal barbarity that would diſgrace the ſavage tribes, killed many of theſe defenceleſs creatures even in the very act of ſupplicating for mercy, and the governor, from motives of humanity, was obliged to receive the reſt. From this period, the garriſon appear to have exiſted in a ſtate of extreme diſtreſs till the 1ſt of June, their chief ſubſiſtence being horſeflesh. At that time they attempted to eſtabliſh a redoubt upon the road from Condé to Lacoque, in order to diſlodge the Auſtrians from the latter place. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, they were however forced back into the town, and the work was demoliſhed. From this to the firſt of July, nothing of importance occurred. On that day a negociation was opened for a capitulation; but the governor conceived it neceſſary to diſpatch a meſſenger to the convention, and another to General Cuſtine, who at this time had aſſumed the command of the northern army; and, the terms not proving acceptable, the negociation was broken off. On the 10th of July, the garriſon, after enduring all the rigours of famine, were obliged to ſurrender as priſoners of war. They had originally amounted to 4000 men, but at the time of the capture were reduced to 1500 fit for ſervice.

The victory of Famars enabled the allied forces to inveſt cloſely the town of Valenciennes. On a ſummons being ſent to General Ferrand, the governor, he retured a polite but ſpirited anſwer; and from the firſt commencement of the works, the beſiegers experienced a heavy fire from the garriſon. On the 1ſt of June General Cuſtine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes, then encamped at Bouchain; but he found himſelf unable to render any effectual relief to Valenciennes. Above 14,000 men of the beſieging army were employed, for the greater part of the ſiege, in erecting works and repairing the batteries. From the firſt to the fifth of June, a very briſk fire was kept up from the fortreſs; and on the latter of theſe days, the French attacked the advanced poſts of the allies, but were repulſed. In the courſe of the ſiege, a materal difference of opinion exiſted between the Engliſh engineer, Colonel Moncrief, and M. Ferraris, the chief engineer of the emperor. The Britiſh officer was for planting batteries immediately under the walls of the city, inſtead of approaching it by regular parallels. M. Ferraris however contended that the work of the great Vauban was not to be treated with ſo little reſpect; and his opinion was adopted by the council of war. On the morning of the 14th of June, the trenches were opened. The Britiſh commander then ſummoned the garriſon; but receiving an unſatisfactory anſwer, the artillery began to play upon the town with great vigour, and in the courſe of the night, above 500 red-hot balls were poured in among the inhabitants. Towards the beginning of July the beſiegers were able to bring 200 pieces of heavy artillery to play without intermiſſion on the town, and the greater part of it was reduced to aſhes. The ſmallneſs of the garriſon, compared with the extent of the fortifications to be defended, prevented General Ferrand from attempting frequent ſorties. In one which the garriſon made on the 5th of July, however, they were very ſucceſsful, and killed ſeveral of the enemy, and ſpiked ſome cannon. The moſt ſingular circumſtance in the hiſtory of this ſiege is, that a conſiderable part of the war was carried on under ground; mines and countermines innumerable having been formed both by the beſiegers and beſieged. The principal of theſe on the ſide of the former were one under the glacis, and one under the hornwork of the fortreſs; theſe mines were completed and charged on the 25th of July, and in the night between nine and ten o'clock were ſprung with the greateſt ſucceſs. The Engliſh and Auſtrians immediately ſeized the opportunity to throw themſelves into the covered way, of which they made themſelves maſters. The die was now caſt, and on the 26th the Duke of York again ſummoned the place, which ſurrendered on capitulation the following day. The Duke of York took poſſeſſion of it in behalf of the Emperor of Germany.

During the whole of the ſiege, General Cuſtine was not able to make any attempt of moment for the relief of the place, and a few ſkirmiſhes only took place between the out-poſts. In the duchy of Luxemburg an action of a more ſerious nature occurred on the 9th of June. The French, under General Laage, attacked the Auſtrians under General Schroeder, near Arlons, and obliged them to retreat with great loſs to Luxemburg. The eminence on which the Auſtrians were encamped was guarded by thirty pieces of cannon, arranged on batteries in the form of ſteps, and defended by eight thouſand men. Theſe the French ſucceſſively attacked and carried with incredible intrepidity.

The King of Pruſſia had been from the beginning of April engaged in preparations for the ſiege of Mentz, and indeed from that time the place might be conſidered as in a ſtate of blockade, and the numerous garriſon ſubſiſted chiefly on horſe-fleſh. The king was, however, too much engaged with his new acquiſitions in Poland to form any ſerious attack till the beginning of May. On the fourth of that month the king arrived, juſt at the commmencement of an attack on the village of Coſtheim, from which, however, they were not able to diſlodge the French. From this period to the beginning of June, frequent and bloody ſkirmiſhes took place between the garriſon and the beſieging army, without any thing deciſive. On the 4th of June the French made a moſt deſperate ſortie upon the village of Marienborn, which they carried, and ſpiked ſome cannon; and on the ninth they attempted a general ſortie on all ſides, but were every where repulſed. The combined army opened the trenches before Mentz on the 19th and 20th of June. On the morning of the 24th the garriſon made a ſortie, and ſpiked four pieces of cannon. On the ſame day a large number of women and children were diſmiſſed from the garriſon; but the Pruſſians upon this occaſion proved, if poſſible, more unfeeling than the Auſtrians at the ſiege of Condé. They fired upon, and actually deſtroyed, the greater part of theſe helpleſs and wretched creatures: many of the women, from witneſſing the horrid ſcences which ſurrounded them on this dreadful day, were ſeized with deſpair, and threw themſelves with their children into the Main. On the 25th another ſortie was attempted by the garriſon, but they were repulſed. On the 7th of July, the ſtrong works of the French at Coſtheim were carried by the allies, by which they loſt eight hundred men, and ſeven pieces of cannon. This ſucceſs was followed on the 15th by the blowing up of the laboratory in Mentz, and the deſtruction of a magazine of hay and ſtraw, by the fire of the beſiegers. Caſſel, which covered

Mentz on the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine, was ſet on fire on the 17th, and ſeveral ammunition waggons were blown up. On the 18th the French army of the Rhine made a grand attempt for the relief of Mentz; they made a vigorous effort to force their way through, not far from Landau, and made their attack in three places at once; they were, however, repulſed in every part by General Wurmſer.—This laſt effort, therefore, proving unſucceſsful, the garriſon capitulated on the 22d; the principal condition of which was, that they ſhould not ſerve for the ſpace of one year againſt the allies. On the 8th of Auguſt the French were driven from the ſtrong poſition which they had taken behind the Scheld, and which was known by the name of Cæſar's camp: as the French did not make much reſiſtance on this occaſion, the loſs on both ſides was not conſiderable.

On the 18th of June, 1793, a gallant action took place off Portland, between Captain Sir Edward Pellew, in La Nymphe frigate, and Captain Jean Mullon, in the French ſhip Cleopatra. The commencement of the action was the moſt noble and awful that the naval hiſtory of the world ever recorded; that even of Paul Jones and the Serapis not excepted. The French captain ordered his ſhip to be manned, and, coming forward on the gangway, in the moſt firm and collected manner, pulled off his hat, and called out, "*Vive la nation!*" which was re-echoed by the whole of the French ſhip's company, who gave three cheers. Captain Pellew, in like manner, ordered his men from quarters to the ſhrouds, and gave three noble huzzas to "Long live King George the Third!" and, putting on his hat, he gave the ſignal for cloſe action, one of the moſt deſperate ever fought. The greateſt part of the time the two ſhips were yard-arm and yard-arm, and ſo cloſe that any perſon might have been killed by piſtol-ſhot. In this manner the action was ſupported, with undiminiſhed valour on both ſides, for

near

SIR EDWARD PELLEW.

Published as the Act directs Dec.1st 1801.

near an hour; when the mizen-maſt and the tiller of the Cleopatra's rudder being ſhot away, ſhe fell foul of La Nymphe, and became entangled in her ſhrouds: at this inſtant orders were given to board her, which was done with ſuch courage and intrepidity, that the Britiſh ſailors attacked the Frenchmen at their quarters, drove them with great ſlaughter from their guns, and ſtruck the French colours themſelves, a circumſtance ſcarcely to be heard of in the naval annals of any country. The Nymphe carried 36 guns and 250 men; the Cleopatra 40 guns and 320 men. The French captain was killed early in the action, and the ſecond captain died of his wounds.

His majeſty, in proof of his high approbation of the conduct of Capt. Pellew, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and ſettled a liberal annuity on Lady Pellew during her life. Captain Iſrael Pellew, who was with his brother, and rendered infinite ſervice in the action, was promoted to the rank of poſt-captain; and Mr. Amherſt Morris, firſt lieutenant of La Nymphe, to the rank of maſter and commander.

After the reduction of Valenciennes, a grand council of war was held, in which a project of the Britiſh miniſtry for the ſeparation of the army, and for an attack on French Flanders, was ſubmitted to the allies. Two other plans were ſubmitted to the council by theſe officers. The firſt was to penetrate to Paris by the aſſiſtance of the rivers which fall into the Seine, on which the heavy ſtores and artillery might be tranſported. The other, which was that of Prince Cobourg and General Clairfait, was to take immediate advantage of the alarm which the ſurrender of Valenciennes had occaſioned, and the diſorder of the French armies from the denunciation of the generals, and with forty or fifty thouſand light troops penetrate to Paris, while a debarkation might be made on the ſide of Britanny, to aſſiſt the royaliſts in that quarter. It is evident that none of theſe plans was conſiſtent with true policy. Whatever number of troops had been detached to Paris would have been ſurrounded and cut off; and as to aſſiſting the royaliſts in Britanny, it is certain that the aid of foreign troops would not have added to the popularity of their cauſe; beſides, that ſuch a circumſtance muſt have rendered their army ſtationary, and conſequently expoſed to the danger of a complete defeat; whereas, it was by occaſionally diſperſing and aſſembling during the night at a moment's notice, and by taking advantage of the woods and covers, that they were enabled, for a length of time, to harraſs the republicans. That the project of attacking Weſt Flanders was illconceived, the event ſufficiently proved. A wiſe ſtateſman perhaps would have rejected all theſe plans, and have embraced the opportunity which the diſtreſſes of the French now afforded, to eſtabliſh an advantageous peace. But, in conſequence of the preponderating influence of the Britiſh miniſtry in the council of war, the plan of attacking Weſt Flanders was adopted.

This ſcheme being finally agreed on, the Britiſh, Hanoverians, and the Dutch, with ſome Heſſians and Auſtrians, ſeparated from the main army, and commenced their march to Dunkirk on the 12th of Auguſt 1793. To enſure ſucceſs to the grand object of the expedition, the Duke of York, who commanded this army, ſent over an exact liſt of the ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores, requiſite for the ſiege of Dunkirk; and which he particularly directed to be ready by the time at which his royal highneſs intended to be with his army before that town; and without which it was impoſſible for him to attempt the ſiege with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The maſter of the ordnance (the Duke of Richmond) was ſtartled at the magnitude of the order: he inſtantly ſent for the principal ſtore-keeper and other officers of the warren, to know if they had the quantity required, and could embark it in the time mentioned. They undertook the order, and actually on the next day, by uncommon exertions, the whole demand of ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores, was on the water edge ready for embarkation. But his grace, ſtill doubting of the ſafety of thus diſarming the country, which he affected to repreſent as in a ſtate of imminent danger, remonſtrated to his royal highneſs upon the inexpediency of ſupplying his demand at that time. Three weeks were conſumed in the correſpondence between the commander in chief of the Britiſh forces, who had ordered what ordnance and ammunition he found neceſſary, and the maſter-general of the ordnance, who choſe to demur to the command. In the mean time the ammunition and ſtores were again depoſited in the ſtore-houſes, leſt they ſhould be damaged by lying thus expoſed on the open ſhore. His royal highneſs, to avoid warning the enemy of his intentions, filled up the time of this extraordinary negociation with the army of the Prince of Cobourg. But in vain; for the enemy, during this very period, either knowing or ſuſpecting the views of the Britiſh cabinet, increaſed the garriſon of Dunkirk by an augmentation of twelve thouſand troops. On the 16th of Auguſt the Duke of York encamped at Turcoin, where a council of war was held on the ſucceeding day; on the 18th the Britiſh marched to a camp which had been marked out near Menin, and found the Dutch, under the hereditary prince of Orange, engaged in an attack on the French outpoſts, in which his highneſs was repulſed. On this occaſion three battalions of the Britiſh guards, conſiſting of 1122 men, were ordered under General Lake to march to the ſuccour of ſome Dutch troops at Lincelles. Upon their arrival they found a redoubt of uncommon ſize and ſtrength, occupied by five thouſand French, who had diſlodged and routed the Dutch from that poſt. "General Lake," ſays the Gazette, "embraced a reſolution worthy of the troops he commanded. He advanced under a heavy fire, with an order and intrepidity for which no praiſe can be too high. After firing three or four rounds, they ruſhed on with their bayonets, ſtormed the redoubts, and drove the enemy through the village, who loſt eleven pieces of cannon, two of which had been taken from the Dutch, and have not ſince appeared in that quarter." In this action Colonel Boſville was killed, and ſome hundreds of the Britiſh troops killed and wounded; and, after all, the works of Lincelles were immediately deſtroyed, and the poſt left unoccupied.

The Duke of York, having at laſt received intelligence that the ammunition and ordnance he had demanded were ſhipped, began his march towards Dunkirk on the 20th of Auguſt. On the 23d he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender the town to his Britannic majeſty; to which ſummons he received next day the following laconic anſwer:—"Inveſted with the confidence of the French republic, I have received your ſummons to ſurrender an important city. I anſwer by aſſuring you, that I ſhall defend it with the brave republicans I have the honour to command." Beſides the heavy artillery for the ſiege, which had not as yet arrived, a grand flotilla was promiſed by the Britiſh cabinet to co-operate in the ſiege: the moſt ſolemn aſſurances were given to the Duke of York, that unleſs delayed by contrary winds this flotilla ſhould certainly be in the bay of Dunkirk on the 24th. The wind, however, had been favourable for ſome time, yet the reinforcement did not ſail from Woolwich till the 26th, on which day Admiral Macbride, who was to command that expedition, received his final orders. The public was in the mean time amuſed with details of the bravery and intrepidity of the Britiſh troops in ſkirmiſhing and in repelling the ſorties of the enemy; who, it was now found, were ſixteen thouſand ſtrong. In one of theſe attacks, the ardour of the troops carried them further in the purſuit than was intended, and brought them under the cannon of the place, by which a conſiderable loſs was ſuſtained: the Auſtrian general Dalton and Colonel Eld of the Coldſtream regiment of guards were among the killed. On the 27th, ſome heavy ſtores and artillery were landed off Nieuport, and three days after Major Hudleſton arrived at Oſtend, with a further ſupply of artillery, ammunition, and ſtores, for the reduction of Dunkirk. The French gun-boats greatly annoyed the Britiſh troops during the whole time they were within their reach. Admiral Macbride was therefore diſpatched to London to enforce the neceſſity of ſending immediately a naval force of gun-boats bomb-veſſels, and other light craft, as well as more forces to co-operate with the beſieging army.

Independent of the general reliance which the Duke of York had in the intrepidity of his troops, he had alſo an expectation of being admitted into the town by a *golden key*. He had kept up a ſecret correſpondence with the former governor, General O'Moran, nor did he, till his arrival, know, that the plan had been diſcovered, and that O'Moran was removed from his poſt, and convicted of the treachery, for which he was afterwards executed. Although General O'Meara, who had at firſt ſucceeded his countryman O'Moran in the command of the garriſon, anſwered the ſummons of the Duke of York, yet the beſieged had at that time actually removed O'Meara from the chief command, not chooſing to repoſe ſo important a truſt in a foreigner, and a countryman of the perſon who had ſo recently engaged to betray them.

On the 25th, the ſiege might be ſaid regularly to commence, but from that time to the 6th of September, nothing of material importance occurred. On the 6th, however, the covering army of General Freytag was ſurpriſed and totally routed, before the Duke of York was even acquainted with the approach of the enemy. The firſt intelligence he received of this diſaſtrous event was by a note written with a pencil. At the ſame moment a ſortie from the garriſon was announced, and a moſt precipitate retreat was the conſequence. The loſs of Britiſh troops in the confuſion of ſuch a ſurpriſe was fortunately not very great; but his royal highneſs narrowly eſcaped being ſurrounded and made priſoner. All the ammunition and ſtores were either left to the enemy or thrown into the canal. The fine train of artillery, which had moved ſo reluctantly from Woolwich Warren, was only landed to be loſt. Sixty-four of the heavy cannon were thrown into the canal, ſeven were buried in the earth, and forty-three left in the field. In the retreat of the Hanoverians, his royal highneſs Prince Adolphus and General Freytag were both wounded and taken priſoners, but were afterwards reſcued. Above three thouſand five hundred Hanoverians were killed, beſides very ſevere loſſes in every other corps of which the covering army was compoſed. It is now well underſtood, that if General Houchard, who commanded the French army on this occaſion, had done his duty, he might have effectually cut off the retreat of the Duke of York, and captured almoſt the whole of the allied army. For this groſs neglect the French general was afterwards denounced, and ſuffered by the ſentence of the revolutionary tribunal.

The army of the allies, which remained under Prince Cobourg and General Clairfait, was not in the main more ſucceſsful. On the 8th of Auguſt a detachment of this army attempted to form the ſiege of Cambray; but after remaining for ſome days before the town, the Auſtrian general was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Bouchain was alſo inveſted, but was afterwards relieved. Queſnoy was the only quarter in which the allies were at this period ſucceſsful. That place ſurrendered on the 11th of September, to General Clairfait; a conſiderable detachment, which had been ſent to its relief, having been previouſly repulſed by Prince Cobourg.

On the ſide of the Rhine a number of petty actions took place, in which the French were generally ſucceſsful; but which were productive of no event of importance. On the 22d of Auguſt, General Landremont aſſumed the command at Weiſſembourgh, and continued ſkirmiſhing till the concluſion of the month. On the 7th of September he attacked the army of the allies in ſeveral points, and drove them back with great loſs; at the poſt of Lauterbourg only, he aſſerts that the allies loſt one thouſand five hundred men. This ſucceſs was followed on the 12th by a general attack, in which the French are ſaid to have killed two thouſand Auſtrians and emigrants, diſmounted a battery, and ſpiked ſeveral pieces of cannon.

The French army of the north, after raiſing the ſiege of Dunkirk, took a ſtrong poſition in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where they were immediately blocked by the whole united force of the allies, collected under the Prince of Cobourg. Upon the 15th and 16th of October, however, the prince was attacked by the troops of the republic, under general Jourdan (who ſucceeded Houchard) with ſuch vigour and effect, that he was compelled, after an immenſe loſs, to abandon his poſition, and repaſs the Sambre. Elated with this ſucceſs, the French immediately made inroads into Maritime Flanders. They attacked the allied forces in ſeveral places at once; they took poſſeſſion of Werwick, and obliged General Erback to abandon Menin, and retreat to Courtray. On the 22d they advanced and took Furnes; they then proceeded to Nieuport, which they beſieged and greatly damaged; but the place was ſaved by having recourſe to inundation. It was ſome time before the allied forces were able to ſtop the progreſs of the French, and their generals even trembled for the fate of Oſtend. A conſiderable armament from England, however, being at that time preparing for the Weſt Indies, under Sir Charles Grey, their deſtination was altered; and by arriving at the fortunate moment at

Oſtend, they protracted for a ſhort time the criſis, when the low countries were to become once more ſubject to the dominion of France.

The forces of the republic were ſtill more eminently ſucceſsful in repelling the attempts of the royaliſts, in the department of La Vendée. General Biron repulſed the army of the inſurgents from Lucon, on the 28th of June, and nearly about the ſame time the city of Nantz was relieved from their incurſions by General Beyſſer. Chatillon was reſcued from them on the 3d of July by General Weſtermann; but on the following day he was ſurpriſed by the royaliſts, and compelled to retreat to Parthenay. On Weſtermann's defeat, he was ſummoned to Paris to anſwer for his conduct, but was honourably acquitted. The chief command after this circumſtance devolved on General Beyſſer, who in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes put the royaliſts to flight. In the beginning of Auguſt they were again defeated by General Roſſignol. On the 10th of that month, however, while the citizens were celebrating the civic feaſt, General Charette, the commander in chief of the inſurgents, vigorouſly aſſailed the city of Nantz, but was repulſed with loſs.

In the mean time, blood and devaſtation marked the progreſs of the royaliſt ſoldiers. Their religious ceremonies and their military diſcipline were a ſtrange compound of ſuperſtition and cruelty: they are even accuſed of having mingled the ſacramental wine with the blood of their adverſaries, and adminiſtered it to the people. One of their ſtandards, which was preſented to the national convention, was white on one ſide, and red on the other; on the red ſide was embroidered the figure of a biſhop, in his pontificals; and on the white, the virgin Mary, with the infant Jeſus in her arms. They gained a conſiderable advantage over the republicans at Parthenay, in the latter end of Auguſt. On the 7th of September, however, General Roſſignol achieved a ſignal victory over the inſurgents at Pont-de-cé; and in conjunction with Santerre routed them again at Douay, Thouars, and Ervaux, on the ſucceeding days. In the latter end of September the garriſon of Mentz was ordered to march into La Vendée, and on the 6th of October the advanced guard vanquiſhed an army of twenty-five thouſand royaliſts. It would be tedious to enter into a more minute detail of this war; it is ſufficient to ſtate, that the unfortunate inſurgents made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance to every effort of the convention till the middle of October, 1793, when they were completely routed. After being driven from La Vendée, they divided into three bodies. The firſt threw themſelves into the iſland of Noirmoutier, where they remained ſome time in a ſtate of blockade, but were at length ſubdued. The ſecond ſeems to have diſperſed; and the third took the route of Anjou, Maine, and Britany, where they carried on for a while a deſultory warfare, but were at length gradually diſperſed.

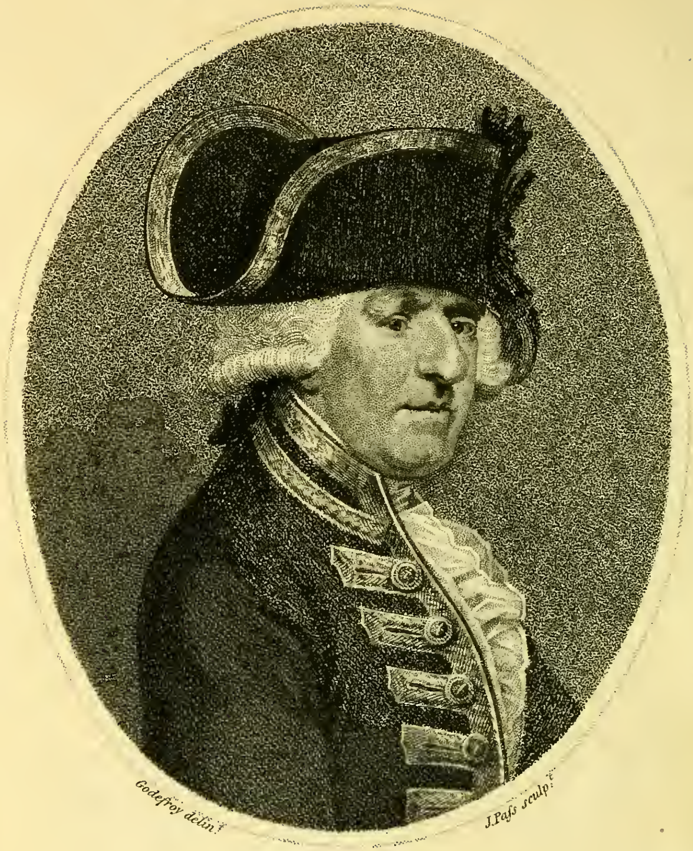
The diſaffection of ſome of the other French provinces to the new government, which immediately followed what is called the revolution of the 31ſt of May, was productive of ſtill more ſerious conſequences to France, and which tended to revive in the allied powers the hope of ultimate ſucceſs. The department of Calvados was the firſt in arms, and a formidable force was collected about the latter end of June in the neighbourhood of Caen, under the command of General Felix Wimpfen, the hero of Thionville, and under the ſuppoſed direction of the fugitive deputies, Petion, Buzot, and Barbaroux. In the beginning of July this body of troops, which was called the departmental army, had advanced as far as Evreux: but the people were evidently not hearty in the cauſe; for, on the approach of the republican army under General Seppar, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh with the advanced guard, they retired again into Calvados; and before the end of the month completely diſperſed, and the department returned to its allegiance. Petion, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Volladi, Wimpſen, &c. fled; but the majority of them were ſoon after taken, and delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal.

The formidable union which took place under the name *federate republicaniſm*, between the cities of Marſeilles, Lyons, and Toulon, ſtill however continued, and ſeemed to threaten almoſt the diſſolution of the exiſting authorities. A conſiderable force was diſpatched againſt them under General Cartaux in the latter end of July; and in the beginning of Auguſt the Marſeillois were driven from the department of Vaucluſe, which they had previouſly occupied. On the 24th, the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this ſucceſs the Marſeillois opened their gates and ſubmitted.

But the people of Toulon and the French admiral Trugoff entered into a negociation with the Engliſh admiral, Lord Hood, who was then cruizing in the Mediterranean, and he took poſſeſſion of the town and the ſhipping in the name of Louis XVII. and under the expreſs and poſitive ſtipulation that he was to aſſiſt in reſtoring the *conſtitution of* 1789.

Toulon is open to the ſouth, and ſheltered to the north by very high mountains, which render its port one of the largeſt and ſafeſt in the world. The city is pretty large: is about ten leagues eaſt from Marſeilles, twenty-four ſouth-weſt from Nice, and one hundred and twenty-five ſouth from Paris. It is a ſtrong city, adorned with ſeveral churches, monaſteries, and other public edifices. Henry IV. fortified it with ſtrong walls, and built two large moles, each of which is 700 paces long, incloſing almoſt the whole port; near them is alſo an arſenal, furniſhed with all ſorts of naval ſtores, whence the largeſt ſhips of the French navy are uſually fitted out; and, for their ſecurity, the fortifications were greatly increaſed by

Louis



VICE ADMIRAL LORD HOOD.

Louis XIV. On two ſides of the city, viz. the north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, lie very ſteep and inacceſſible hills; that on the north-eaſt, called St. Ann's, perfectly commands the town, and ſinks with a declivity on that ſide; but, on the country-ſide, it is a perpendicular rock.

The city is on the ſea-ſide, extremely well defended by batteries flanking all the avenues. In the mouth of the harbour lies a ſtockade or boom, between which, and a narrow neck of land, there is a good deep channel, ſecured by a large tower, called fort Pharon, whereon are mounted 30 guns, 24-pounders. This tower, or fort, is to the weſt of Toulon, upon a ſteep hill, and of very difficult acceſs. It commands the forts of St. Catherine and l'Artigues, as well as the towns of La Valette and Toulon, and even Fort La Malgue.

The port of Toulon is one of the fineſt in Europe. You enter firſt into a large and very ſafe road, defended by ſeveral batteries and forts. At one of the extremities of this road lies the port, the entrance of which is ſo narrow, that only one ſhip at a time can enter it, and is well defended by ſeveral batteries well mounted with cannon. It was in Auguſt that Vice-admiral Lord Hood, with a Britiſh fleet, inveſted this important place; on the 25th of which month, the whole garriſon unanimouſly agreed to ſurrender, in truſt, to his lordſhip, as the repreſentative of the King of Great Britain, until the diſputes with France ſhould be finally adjuſted, when the ſame ſhould be reſtored to Louis XVII. In conſequence whereof, the French fleet at anchor in this port, conſiſting of 17 ſhips of war, were immediately ordered into the inner harbour, their crews diſcharged, the ſhips diſmantled and laſhed together, that in caſe of an inſurrection among the inhabitants, or of being overpowered by the land forces, the whole might be ſet on fire, and deſtroyed, which we ſhall find was afterwards obliged to be done.

In the mean time, General Kellermann, who commanded

manded the army of the Alps, was diſpatched againſt Lyons. It contained an immenſe and mixed multitude of the diſcontented citizens of every claſs, ſome royaliſts, ſome of the firſt emigrants, and a conſiderable number of the Gironde party. The city remained in a ſtate of blockade from the 8th of Auguſt; but the firſt attack was reſiſted with great bravery. On the twenty-ſecond and twenty-third, the Lyoneſe are computed to have loſt not leſs than two thouſand men, and a great part of the city was reduced to a heap of ruins. In the month of September, as it appeared Kellermann had not been ſufficiently active, General Doppet, a young officer, who had juſt exchanged the profeſſion of a phyſician for that of a ſoldier, was appointed to the command; and on the 8th of October the city of Lyons ſurrendered to that general. The chiefs of the royaliſts had fled, but ſeveral of them were afterwards taken and executed. By a ſubſequent decree of the convention, the wall and public buildings of Lyons were ordered to be deſtroyed, and the name of the city itſelf to be changed to that of *Ville Affranchie.*

Among the victims of popular reſentment which fell about this period was the celebrated General Cuſtine, whoſe former ſervices to the republic ſhould have ſecured him a more honourable deſtiny. He was called to Paris from the command of the northern army in the beginning of July, and on the 18th arrived in that capital, from which he was never to return. On the 22d he was committed by a decree of the convention to the Abbey priſon; and in the beginning of Auguſt was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. The charges againſt him were—" That he had maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy—That he had left the garriſon of Mentz unprovided with neceſſaries; in conſequence of which many brave defenders of their country periſhed, and the whole ſuffered the extreme of famine and miſery, and were at laſt compelled to capitulate—That there exiſted a letter ſigned Cuſtine, in which he engaged D'Ogſe commandant of Mentz to deliver up the place to the Pruſſians—That he had inſulted the national repreſentation by diſobeying its orders, and by aſſerting publicly in a letter to the miniſter, 'that ſuch decrees as he did not approve only ſerved him for *papillottes*' (curl papers)—That finally he had not exerted himſelf properly to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the enemy." How far theſe charges were well founded, it is impoſſible to determine. The unfortunate general, in the criſis of his adverſity, lamented that he appeared forſaken by every friend; and the populace of Paris, accuſtomed to ſights of horror, beheld the execution of their former defender with calm indifference, or with brutal exultation.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately ſucceeded that of Cuſtine. She had been removed on the night of the 1ſt of Auguſt from the temple to a ſmall and miſerable apartment in the priſon of the Conciergerie, where ſhe remained till ſhe was brought before the revolutionary tribunal on the 15th of October. The act of accuſation conſiſted of ſeveral charges, the ſubſtance of which was—"That ſhe had contributed to the derangements of the national finances, by remitting from time to time conſiderable ſums to her brother, the emperor Joſeph—That ſince the revolution ſhe had continued to hold a criminal correſpondence with foreign powers—That in every inſtance ſhe had directed her views to a counter revolution, particularly in exciting the body guards and others of the military at Verſailles on the 1ſt of October 1789—That ſhe was a principal agent and promoter of the flight of the royal family in June 1791—That ſhe inſtituted private councils in the palace, at which the maſſacres, as they were termed, in the camp de Mars, at Nancy, &c. were planned."—One of the moſt ſingular and abſurd charges was—"That in conjunction

tion with a ſcandalous faction (that of the Gironde) ſhe induced the king and the aſſembly to declare war againſt Auſtria, contrary to every principle of ſound policy and the public welfare." The act proceeds to ſtate —"That ſhe communicated to the enemy plans of the campaign and other intelligence—That ſhe was alſo a principal agent in the internal war with which France has been diſtreſſed." The laſt charge was the moſt infamous and the moſt incredible, viz.—"That, like Agrippa, ſhe had held an inceſtuous commerce with her own ſon." On the trial a number of witneſſes were examined, but few of the charges appeared to be ſufficiently ſubſtantiated. That ſhe treated her ſon with regal reſpect was proved; but the horrid charge of inceſt was made upon the authority merely of ſome indiſtinct communications from the boy Capet to the mayor of Paris.—Had the conduct of Marie Antoinette been leſs exceptionable than there is reaſon to believe it was, there is little probability that ſhe could have eſcaped. After an hour's conſultation, therefore, the jury brought in their verdict—"Guilty of all the charges." The queen heard the ſanguinary ſentence with dignity and reſignation; perhaps indeed it might be conſidered by her leſs as a puniſhment than as a releaſe. On the 16th of October, at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, ſhe was conducted from the priſon of the Conciergerie to a ſcaffold prepared in the Place de la Revolution, where her unfortunate huſband had previouſly ſuffered. Her behaviour at that awful moment was decent and compoſed.

Turning from theſe ſanguinary ſcenes, we muſt now advert to the ſtate of the armies and the concluſion of the campaign.—The defeat of the allies was in ſome ſmall meaſure compenſated to England by the intelligence, that in the beginning of October the royaliſts of Fort Jeremie, in St. Domingo, had invited the Engliſh to take poſſeſſion of that part of the iſland, and that Cape Nicola Mole ſubmitted in a few days after to the Britiſh arms. In the Eaſt Indies alſo, Pondicherry, and the other French ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, were taken by the Engliſh.

Early in the month of September, Landau had been inveſted by the allies; but while the French maintained the ſtrong lines at Weiſſembourg, and on the Lauter, there was but little proſpect of ſucceſs. On the 15th of October, therefore, the Auſtrian general Wurmſer made a grand attack upon the lines of Lauter; and, if the French accounts are true, their generals permitted the Auſtrians almoſt without reſiſtance to force the lines. The whole of the lines, with the town of Lauterburg, were carried, which Wurmſer himſelf confeſſes might have held out a ſiege of ſeveral days. The French loſt alſo the whole of their artillery. The town of Weiſſembourg made a formidable reſiſtance, and it was not carried without the loſs of between ſeven and eight hundred men. The French retreated towards Haguenau, from which however they were diſlodged on the eighteenth.

The Auſtrian general loſt no time in proceeding towards Straſburg, and on the 25th again routed the French, and was enabled to take poſſeſſion of Wanzenau. On the 27th he was attacked by the French; but they were compelled to retreat, with the ſuppoſed loſs of three thouſand men. In the beginning of November the deputies St. Juſt and Le Bas were ſent to Straſburg to re-organize the diſcomfited troops. They ordered immenſe reinforcements from the neighbouring departments; and, to afford a ſalutary example of ſeverity, General Irembert, who was convicted of treachery in the affair of the lines of Weiſſembourg, was ſhot at the head of the army on the 9th. A conſpiracy was alſo detected at Straſburg, for delivering up the place to the enemy, and the traitors were puniſhed. Theſe ſpirited proceedings were not ſufficient however to ſave Fort Louis, which fell into the hands of General Wurmſer on the 14th of November, not withou ſtrong ſuſpicions of treachery on the part of the commandant. Here however the ſucceſſes of Wurmſer terminated; for on the 21ſt of November the Auſtrians were compelled to retreat, and the French army penetrated to Vautruan, and almoſt to the gates of Haguenau. In the mean time the army of the Moſelle advanced to co-operate with the grand army of the Rhine; and on the 17th of November the Pruſſians were defeated near Saarbruck with ſome loſs. On the ſucceeding day the Pruſſian camp at Blieſcaſtle was ſtormed and taken by the French, under General Hoche, who immediately advanced to Deux Ponts. The poſt of Hornback, and the heights of Mille-back, were carried with great bravery by the French; and the Pruſſians were immediaetly compelled to abandon Deux Ponts.

On the 29th and 30th of November the French were repulſed with conſiderable loſs in two ſpirited attacks made on the Duke of Brunſwick's poſts near Lautern; but the republicans under General Pichegru, on the 8th of December, carried with fixed bayonets all the redoubts of the allies which covered Haguenau; and on the 22d the allies were driven with an immenſe ſlaughter from Biſchoilers, Duſcheim, and Haguenau, notwithſtanding the almoſt continued works by which they had covered the line which joins the two poſts. The entrenchments on the heights of Reiſhoffen, Jauderſhoffen, and Freycivillers Radneith, are ſaid to be not leſs formidable than thoſe of Jemappe, and formed three rows of redoubts which the allies conſidered as impregnable. They were however ſtormed by the army of the Moſelle, under General Hoche, who had joined Pichegru, and carried ſword in hand.

On the 23d and 24th the French purſued the allies to the heights of Wrotte, where they had alſo erected moſt formidable entrenchments. On the 26th General Pichegru prepared to attack theſe entrenchments in form, but after a fruitleſs cannonade, the republican ſoldiers called out to ſound the charge, and marched up to the very foot of the entrenchments. A deſperate conflict enſued, which laſted from two o'clock in the afternoon till five. At half paſt ſix the French were maſters of the heights, and at ten all the poſts were abandoned. On the 27th the republican army entered Weiſſembourg in triumph. General Wurmſer made good his retreat to the Rhine, and the Duke of Brunſwick haſtily retreated to cover Mentz. The Prince of Hohenloe had ſummoned Landau on the 14th of December; but receiving an indignant reply from the commandant, General Laubadere, the Pruſſian general Knobelſdorf attempted to eſtabliſh an intercourſe with the garriſon, which was rejected. In conſequence of the retreat of the allies, the ſiege was raiſed. Kieſerſlautern, Guermerſheim, and Spires, immediately ſubmitted to the French in conſequence of theſe victories.

In the north but little was performed on either ſide during the latter part of the campaign. On the 19th of November, a trifling ſkirmiſh took place between a part of the garriſon of Ypres and a party of the French who attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves at Poperinghue, from which they were diſlodged with the loſs of forty-five priſoners. On the 28th of the ſame month, they attacked the out-poſts of the Duke of York at Nechin and Liers, but were repulſed with ſome loſs; and on the 30th they were again unſucceſsful in an attack on the ſame poſts.

The ſiege of Toulon was commenced immediately after the reduction of Marſeilles. On the 8th of September, General Carteaux arrived at the paſſes of Olioulles. The Engliſh and Spaniards occupied the heights on the right, and the royaliſts thoſe on the left. As ſoon as the French general was perceived, he was ſaluted by a general ſhout of *Vive Louis Dix-ſept*, and by a diſcharge of muſketry. At mid-day he ordered the attack, and by two o'clock the royaliſts were

diſperſed,

diſperſed, 150 of them being killed upon the ſpot, and a number of priſoners taken. On the 1ſt of October the republican troops carried the height of Pharon, which the Engliſh had fortified; but after retaining it a few hours, reinforcements arriving, they were forced again to abandon the poſt. On the 14th an action took place between the garriſon, who had marched out to the defence of the redoubt of Malbouſquet, and the army of Carteaux, in which the Engliſh and the allies loſt about forty men and the French about thirty. On the the ſucceeding day Cape Brun was taken by the republicans; and at the ſame time a detachment from the gariſon, ſent to occupy the heights of Thouars, was diſlodged, and obliged to retreat into the town. The allies loſt in both actions above one hundred men.

In the beginning of November, General Carteaux was ordered to the command of the army in Italy, and General Doppet was appointed to the command of the beſieging army of Toulon. About the ſame period General O'Hara arrived with reinforcements from Gibraltar at Toulon, having been appointed governor and commander in chief.

By this time Lyons had capitulated to the troops belonging to the convention, and a powerful army now inveſted Toulon; the forces in which, although numerous, appertained to different nations, and were not animated either by the ſame ſentiments or the ſame intereſts. On the other hand, the deputies with the French army provided cannon, ammunition, and proviſions, in abundance; whatever the beſiegers required was obtained inſtantly by requiſition, and all the exploits of the ſoldiery were at once witneſſed and rewarded by the repreſentatives of the people. Dugommier, a general who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his victories over the forces of the King of Sardinia, was now appointed commander in chief; and, as the ſurrender of the great naval arſenal of the ſouth much depended on the management of the immenſe artillery employed againſt it, great pains were taken to find an engineer every way worthy of the occaſion. Such a perſon was at length diſcovered in Napoleone Bonaparte, an obſcure Corſican, who had been educated at the military academy in France, and ſerved as a lieutenant in the regiment of La Fere. Having fled from the troubles that prevailed in his native iſland, he now offered his ſervices, and was employed by the deputy Barras, on the recommendation of his countryman Salicetti, and contributed not a little by his military talents to decide both the fate of Toulon and of France.

The very firſt operation was deciſive of ſucceſs. Knowing that the poſſeſſion of Malbouſquet, one of the principal outpoſts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arſenal, Bonaparte accordingly opened a ſtrong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenes, which annoyed that poſition exceedingly, by means of an inceſſant fire of ſhot and ſhells. As it became neceſſary to take immediate and effectual meaſures for the ſecurity of ſo important a poſt, Governor O'Hara determined to deſtroy the new works, termed the convention-battery, and bring off the artillery. The detachments ſent for this purpoſe accompliſhed it with ſilence and ſucceſs; and the French troops were ſurpriſed and fled. Elated unfortunately with the facility of the conqueſt, the allied troops ruſhed forward in purſuit of their flying foes, when they unexpectedly encountered a conſiderable force which was proceeding to cover the retreat of the fugitives. At this moment General O'Hara arrived upon the ſpot; and, while he was exerting himſelf to bring off his troops with regularity, he received a wound in his arm, and was made priſoner. It is ſaid that near a thouſand of the Britiſh and allied forces were killed, wounded, or taken priſoners, on this occaſion.

Lord Hood in his diſpatch to government, dated on the day when this unfortunate event took place, was pleaſed to obſerve that, " the governor promiſed not to go out himſelf, but unfortunately did not keep his word." This remark, which ſeems to implicate ſomething like reproach, was undoubtedly produced by the bitterneſs of his lordſhip's grief at the event of this unfortunate expedition. The letter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the other hand, contains a complete juſtification of his excellency: "It is much to be lamented that General O'Hara was, on every occaſion, ſo prodigal of his perſon; but the misfortune which has befallen him, and the ſevere loſs which the ſervice ſuſtains by his capture, cannot be aſcribed even to this honourable fault; for he did not himſelf aſcend the battery till it was poſſeſſed by our troops, and there was reaſon to ſuppoſe the object of the day had been obtained. The reverſe was ſo ſudden, and his preſence muſt have appeared ſo material towards reſtoring order, and retrieving the error which had been committed by the troops, that it is not be wondered at, if, with his ſpirit, he became expoſed to perſonal hazard. His wound, though not dangerous or ſerious, has bled much; and, added to the exertion he had before made, weakened him ſo much that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but inſiſted on being left by two ſoldiers who were conducting him, and whom he ordered to proceed and ſave themſelves."

The events of this day, added to the capture of the brave officer who had acted both in the capacity of governor and military commander, contributed not a little to raiſe the expectations of the beſiegers; they now began to make nearer approaches to the place, and, by means of their batteries, not only attacked the poſts of Malbouſquet, Le Brun, and fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier, at the ſame time, but threatened a general aſſault.

Nor were theſe events to be deſpiſed. The garriſon at this period was reduced to the moſt alarming ſituation; and the enemy, whoſe force was conſtantly increaſing, amounted to nearly forty thouſand men, commanded by an able general, while the batteries were managed under the direction of one of the beſt engineers of his age. On the other hand, the allied troops, compoſed of five different nations and languages, never exceeded twelve thouſand rank and file. With theſe, now greatly diminiſhed by death and diſeaſe, a circumference of fifteen miles, for the defence of the town and harbour, was to be occupied and defended, by means of eight principal and ſeveral intermediate poſts, which alone required nearly nine thouſand men.

The French, being determined to puſh on the ſiege with increaſed vigour, relieved ſuch of their troops as were fatigued, by freſh ones, and at two in the morning, Dec. 17. opened two new batteries on fort Mulgrave, and from theſe and three former ones continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops, and deſtroyed the works. As the weather proved rainy, they afterwards found means to aſſemble a large body of forces ſecretly, with which they ſtormed the fortification, and entered with ſcrewed bayonets by that ſide defended by the Spaniards. On this the Britiſh, and ſuch of the other troops as had not been killed during the aſſault, were obliged to retire towards the ſhore of Balaguier.

At day-break another attack took place on all the poſts occupied by the garriſon on the mountain of Pharon. They were repulſed however on the eaſt ſide, by about ſeven hundred men, commanded by Colonel Le Jermagnan, a Piedmonteſe officer, who periſhed upon this occaſion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although eighteen hundred feet high and deemed inacceſſible, ſo as to occupy the ſide which overlooks Toulon. In the courſe of this day's fight, all the Engliſh troops conducted themſelves with great bravery; while the French, invigorated by zeal, and truſting to their numbers, charged with unuſual intrepidity and ſucceſs.

The deputy Arena headed one of their columns, and the generals Cervoni and Bonaparte particularly diſinguiſhed themſelves.

As it was deemed impracticable to regain the poſts that had been taken, and the town was not tenable while they remained in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, it was determined to evacuate Toulon. A council of war was held, on the morning of the 18th, by the three generals who commanded the combined troops; when it was determined, that all merchants-ſhips and tranſports, of whatever nation, (of which there were more than an hundred,) ſhould immediately go out of the port, and place themſelves in the road under the protection of the Engliſh and Spaniſh ſquadrons, which anchored under Fort La Malgue. All the Toulonese royaliſts were at the ſame time permitted to embark, and get out of every danger. At the ſame time the Neapolitan general Forteguerri ordered the Neapolitan troops to embark on-board of twelve tranſports, and three ſhips of war of 74 guns each, two frigates, two corvettes, and a brigantine. The embarkation was performed with the greateſt order and expedition: and, after their baggage was on-board, they ſailed, but with little wind; for at nine o'clock in the evening they were only three miles diſtant from the road of Toulon. The other ſhips and all the French men-of-war left the port, and were ready in the great road. The embarkation of the reſt of the troops, and of many thouſands of the Touloneſe, was executed in the greateſt order, as was alſo the carrying away the naval ſtores and other effects. It was neceſſary, however, to leave all the artillery behind, but completely ſpiked; but it is ſaid that he French ſucceeded in rendering them ſerviceable again.

In the town, on the morning of the 18th, an inſurrection of the malcontents took place, who taking advantage of the diſorder, and of the flight of the royaliſts, fell upon them with ſabres and every kind of weapons, and made a horrid carnage of them, in order to ſeize their effects. The loſs of the allies is computed to be 3000 men; that of the French, both of the town and belonging to the army, more than 10,000.

The ſcene of the embarkation of the troops at Toulon was in the extreme degree calamitous and afflicting. The greateſt part of the inhabitants, who had not been ſo decided and active in their ſupport of the allies, and who therefore foreſaw that they muſt be left behind, abandoned themſelves to the influence of complete deſpair. They deſcended in immenſe numbers to the ſea-ſide. The aged and the infirm, men, women, and children, threw themſelves upon the ſhore in the greateſt agony, and intreated protection in the moſt pathetic terms; the Britiſh fleet, however, could contain no more perſons, and their intreaties therefore could not be complied with. The unfurling of the ſails and the weighing of the anchors added to the diſtreſs and deſpair of the unhappy ſpectators; and induced ſeveral to plunge into the ſea, and to attempt to ſwim to the ſhips. Others committed ſuicide on-ſhore; the remainder returned to the city, when a battle enſued, in which many fell on both ſides.

Before the place was abandoned, the commanding officers of the allies ordered the moſt important parts of the port to be ſet on-fire; and, by day-break a moſt terrible fire was ſeen at a great diſtance, which conſumed the arſenal, ſome fortifications, and even the baſon of the port. But Lord Hood obſerves, "Circumſtances which had taken place made the retreat abſolutely neceſſary to be effected as ſoon as poſſible, and prevented the execution of a ſettled arrangement for deſtroying the French ſhips and arſenal. I ordered the Vulcan fire-ſhip to be primed, and Sir Sydney Smith, who joined me from Smyrna about a fortnight ago, having offered his ſervices to burn the ſhips, I put Captain Hare under his orders, with Lieutenants Tupper and Gore of the Victory, Lieutenant Pater of the Britannia, and Lieutenant R. W. Miller of the Windſor Caſtle. Ten of the enemy's ſhips of the line in the arſenal, and twelve ſmaller veſſels, with the maſt-houſe, great ſtore-houſe, hemp houſe and other buildings, were totally deſtroyed, and before day-light all his majeſty's ſhips, with thoſe of Spain and the two Sicilies, were out of the reach of the enemy's ſhot and ſhells, except the Robuſt, which was to receive Captain Elphinſtone, and ſhe followed very ſoon after, without a ſhot ſtriking her. I have under my orders Rear-admiral Trogoff, in the Commerce de Marſeilles, Puiſſant, and Pompée, of the line; the Pearl, Arethuſa, and Topaze, frigates; and ſeveral large corvettes.

" Don Langara undertook to deſtroy the ſhips in the baſon, but, I am informed, found it not practicable; and, as the Spaniſh troops had the guarding the powder veſſels, which contained the powder of the ſhips I ordered into the baſon and arſenal on my coming here, as well as that from the diſtant magazines within the enemy's reach, I requeſted the Spaniſh admiral would be pleaſed to give orders for their being ſcuttled and ſunk; but, inſtead of doing that, the officer to whom that duty was entruſted blew them up, by which two fine gun-boats, which I had ordered to attend Sir Sydney Smith, were ſhaken to pieces, and the lieutenant commanding one of them was killed, and ſeveral ſeamen badly wounded."

Of the burning of the ſhips Sir Sydney Smith gives the following account in his letter to Lord Hood: " My Lord, Agreeably to your lordſhip's order, I proceeded with the Swallow tender, and three Engliſh and three Spaniſh gun-boats, to the arſenal, and immediately began making the neceſſary preparations for burning the French ſhips and ſtores therein. We found the dock-gates well ſecured by the judicious arrangements of the governor, although the dock-yard people had already ſubſtituted the three-coloured cockade for the white one. I did not think it ſafe to attempt the ſecuring any of them, conſidering the ſmall force I had with me, and conſidering that a conteſt of any kind would occupy our whole attention, and prevent us from accompliſhing our purpoſe.

"A gun-boat was ſtationed to flank the wall on the outſide, and two field-pieces were placed within againſt the wicker, uſually frequented by the workmen, of whom we were particularly apprehenſive. About eight o'clock I had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing Lieutenant Gore towing in the Vulcan fireſhip. Captain Hare, her commander, placed in her, agreeably to my directions, in a moſt maſterly manner, acroſs the tier of men-of-war. In this ſituation we continued to wait moſt anxiouſly for the hour concerted with the governor for the inflammation of the trains. The moment the ſignal was made, we had the ſatisfaction to ſee the flames riſe in every quarter. Lieutenant Tupper was charged with the burning of the general magazines, the pitch, tar, tallow, and oil, ſtore-houſes, and ſucceeded moſt perfectly; the hemp magazine was included in this blaze: its being nearly calm was unfortunate to the ſpreading of the flames, but 250 barrels of tar, divided among the deals and other timber, inſured the rapid ignition of that whole quarter, which Lieutenant Tupper had undertaken.

"The maſt-houſe was equally well ſet on fire by Lieutenant Middleton, of the Britannia. Lieutenant Pater, of the Britannia, continued in a moſt daring manner to brave the flames, in order to complete the work where the fire ſeemed to have caught imperfectly. I was obliged to call him off, leſt his retreat ſhould become impracticable. Lieut. Iremonger, of the royals, remained with the guard at the gate till the laſt, long after the Spaniſh guard had withdrawn, and was brought ſafely off by Captain Edge of the Alert, to whom I had confided the important ſervice of cloſing our retreat, and bringing off our detached parties, which were ſaved to a man. I was ſorry to

find

find myſelf deprived of the further ſervices of Captain Hare: he had performed that of placing his fire-ſhip to admiration, but was blown into the water, and much ſcorched, by the exploſion of her priming, when in the act of putting the match to it. The guns of the fire-ſhip going off on both ſides as they heated, in the direction that was given them, towards thoſe quarters from whence we were moſt apprehenſive of the enemy forcing their way in upon us, checked their career. Their ſhouts and republican ſongs, which we could hear diſtinctly, continued till they, as well as ourſelves, were in a manner thunderſtruck by the exploſion of ſome thouſand barrels of powder on-board the Iris frigate, lying in the Inner Road, without us, and which had been injudiciouſly ſet on fire by the Spaniſh boats, in going off, inſtead of being ſunk, as ordered. The concuſſion of air, and the ſhower of falling timber on-fire, was ſuch, as nearly to deſtroy the whole of us. Lieutenant Paty, of the Terrible, with his whole boat's crew, had nearly periſhed; the boat was blown to pieces, but the men were picked up alive.

" I had given it in charge to the Spaniſh officers to fire the ſhips in the baſon before the town; but they returned, and reported that various obſtacles had prevented their entering it. We attempted it together, as ſoon as we had completed the buſineſs in the arſenal, but were repulſed in our attempt to cut the boom, by repeated vollies of muſquetry from the flag-ſhip and the wall of the battery royale. The cannon of this battery had been ſpiked by the judicious precaution taken by the governor, previouſly to the evacuation of the town.

" We now proceeded to burn the Hero and Themiſtocles, two ſeventy-four gun ſhips, lying in the Inner Road. Our approach to them had hitherto been impracticable in boats, as the French priſoners who had been left in the latter ſhip were ſtill in poſſeſſion of her, and had ſhewn a determination to reſiſt our attempt to come on-board. The ſcene of conflagration around them, heightened by the late tremendous exploſion, had however awakened their fears for their lives. Thinking this to be the caſe, I addreſſed them, expreſſing my readineſs to land them in a place of ſafety, if they would ſubmit: and they thankfully accepted the offer, ſhewing themſelves to be completely intimidated, and very grateful for our humane intentions towards them, in not attempting to burn them with the ſhip. It was neceſſary to proceed with precaution, as they were more numerous than ourſelves. We at length completed their diſembarkation, and then ſet her on fire.

"The exploſion of a ſecond powder-veſſel, equally unexpected, and with a ſhock even greater than the firſt, again put us in the moſt imminent danger of periſhing; and, when it is conſidered that we were within the ſphere of the falling timber, it is next to miraculous that no one piece, of the many which made the water foam round us, happened to touch either the Swallow or the three boats with me.

"Having now ſet fire to every thing within our reach, exhauſted our combuſtible preparations and our ſtrength to ſuch a degree, that the men abſolutely dropped on the oars, we directed our courſe to join the fleet, running the gauntlet under a few ill-directed ſhot from the forts of Balaguier and Aiguilette, now occupied by the enemy; but, fortunately, without loſs of any kind. We can aſcertain that the fire extended to at leaſt ten ſail of the line; how much further we cannot ſay. The loſs of the general magazine, and of the quantity of pitch, tar, roſin, hemp, timber, cordage, and gunpowder, muſt conſiderably impede the equipment of the few ſhips that remain. I am ſorry to have been obliged to leave any; but I hope your lordſhip will be ſatisfied that we did as much as our circumſcribed means enabled us to do, in a limited time, preſſed as we were by a force ſo much ſuperior to us."

Thus, after a ſiege of about three months, and an inceſſant aſſault of five ſucceſſive days and nights, Toulon was reſtored to France; the beſieging army, which had provided four thouſand ladders for an aſſault, having entered it at ſeven o'clock in the morning ſubſequent to the evacuation, Dec. 19. Of the inhabitants who had borne arms againſt their country, or favoured the cauſe of the allies, ſome ſtill remained; and theſe either put an end to their exiſtence by a voluntary death, or periſhed by the guillotine or the muſquet. Here, as well as at Marſeilles and Lyons, the moſt cruel puniſhments were inflicted on the royaliſts; and the conquerors not only ſullied their victory, but diſgraced themſelves, by a terrible and indiſcriminate carnage. Workmen were actually invited from all the neighbouring departments to deſtroy the principal houſes; the population became viſibly decreaſed by the daily butchery that took place; the name of Toulon was changed for that of *Port de la Montagne*, and a grand feſtival decreed in honour of the French army.

The following authentic extracts and notes written by the deputies on miſſion, will convey to the indignant reader ſome idea of the unbridled vengeance of the victors:

La vengeance nationale ſe deploye. On fuſille à force. Déja tous les officiers de la marine ſont exterminés. La république ſera vengée d'une manière digne d'elle: les mânes des patriotes ſeront appaiſées.—"The national vengeance is ſhewing itſelf; the muſket is not idle. All the ſea-officers are already deſtroyed. The republic ſhall be avenged in a manner worthy of herſelf; the manes of the patriots ſhall be appeaſed."

Cela va bien ici; nous avons requis douze mille maçons des départemens environnans, pour demolir et raſer la ville. Tous les jours depuis notre entrée, nous feſons tomber deux cents têtes.—"All goes well here; we have put in requiſition 12,000 workmen of the ſurrounding departments to demoliſh and raze the city of Toulon. We have cauſed 200 heads to be ſtruck off every day ſince we entered." FRERON.

Il y a déjâ huit cents Toulonnais de fuſillés.—"Eight hundred Touloneſe have been ſhot already." Signed FRERON.

The war on the ſide of Spain was productive of nothing but petty ſkirmiſhes, not worth detailing; and in Savoy the King of Sardinia made but a ſlow progreſs in recovering his poſſeſſions, which the Britiſh miniſtry were ſo generous as to guarantee to him at an immenſe expence. On the 27th of September the Piedmonteſe were repulſed in attempting to penetrate between Mourienne and Briançonnais. The French ſaw them deſcend from the tops of the mountain, and carried their redoubts with the bayonet. The city of Cluz was then in poſſeſſion of the French, and they were proceeding to Salons. In the mean time an Engliſh veſſel arrived at Nice with a flag of truce, and a proclamation to the inhabitants, exhorting them to accept the royal conſtitution of 1789; but the magiſtrates of Nice replied, "that French republicans would never become ſlaves, and that no other anſwer would be made to royaliſts, except from the cannon's mouth."

An expedition had been planned by the Britiſh goverment for the purpoſe of co-operating with the royaliſt party on the coaſt of Brittany, and the Earl of Moira was appointed to the command. The ſcheme, however, failed in the execution, for the expedition was delayed till the royaliſts were completely ſubdued; and, when the fleet and tranſports appeared off the coaſt, they found the French ſo far prepared for their reception, that it would have been madneſs to have attempted a landing.

The intent of this expedition, and the cauſes of its failure, were afterwards explained by Lord Moira in a debate in the houſe of lords upon the employment of French emigrants againſt France, and giving them Britiſh pay. His lordſhip mentioned, "that he had received an invitation to take upon himſelf the command of an expedition to be undertaken for the ſuccour of the royaliſts. He was honored with his majeſty's commands on the 17th of November, but owing to the adverſe ſtate of the winds and weather, the fleet did not ſail from Portſmouth till the 1ſt of December. Previous tot his, his majeſty's miniſters and himſelf had received information of a meeting held by perſons deputed by miniſters to the royaliſt army at Doll in Normandy, who had agreed on a plan of operation; but owing to the difficulty of intercourſe, this information did not reach miniſters till the 25th of November. By that information it was ſettled what ſignals were to be made by the Engliſh fleet on their arrival upon the coaſt, for the purpoſe of directing the troops where they thought the deſcent moſt practicable, and a variety of other matters were adjuſted.— On the 1ſt of December they ſailed, and early the next morning they made the coaſt of Cherbourg. He ran down the coaſt for a conſiderable extent, hoping to find the royaliſts in force as had been repreſented to him; but not one of the concerted ſignals, though repeatedly made by the different ſhips, was anſwered from the ſhore. Not knowing how to account for this circumſtance, and in obedience to his orders, his lordſhip ſaid he proceeded to Guernſey, where, in conſequence of contrary winds, he did not arrive till the 25th. His lordſhip deſired the houſe to attend to the dates which he had occaſion to mention, becauſe the whole of his explanation reſted on that particular. While at Guernſey he diſpatched a number of emiſſaries in ſearch of the royaliſt army. He at length learned that the royaliſts had made an attack on Granville, but had been defeated, and had retreated to the banks of the Loire. All the French journals and newſpapers ſtated, however, that one column of the royaliſt army had directed its courſe towards Caen in Normandy. His lordſhip ſaid, that on conſidering the port, which the royaliſts had named as the port for him to make, he found, from the peculiar difficulty of acceſs, and from other circumſtances, it would be impoſſible for him to throw ſuccours into it; he therefore, by his emiſſaries, had ſent word to the royaliſts of the doubts he entertained of being able to effect the purpoſe agreed on, and directed their march to another point. While at Guernſey a ſtorm aroſe that ſeparated him from half his ſquadron and troops. Conceiving, nevertherleſs, that the faith of the Britiſh government was pledged to the army of the royaliſts, he thought it his duty, be the event and conſequence what they might, to lend them every poſſible ſuccour which his reduced force could adminiſter. Under the impreſſion of this idea he put to ſea, and, after he left Guernſey, he appointed the French ſtaff, which had been rendered a ſubject of diſcuſſion in another houſe of parliament. He begged their lordſhips to recollect the point of time when the appointment was made—while he was expecting to land on the coaſt of France immediately, and when he meant not to join his army to that of the royaliſts, but to engraft the royaliſt forces on thoſe which he had under his command; when he expected, the moment he landed, to have proceeded to battle, to find the royaliſts diſpirited by defeats, and to have to lead them on to inſtant conteſt: it was impoſſible therefore for him, with any regard to prudence, to truſt to the chance of ſubſequent opportunity. He appointed the French ſtaff as he had ſtated, and it conſiſted of two aides-de-camp, a French ſecretary, and a quarter-maſter-general. In having appointed this ſtaff, he had no heſitation to ſay, that he had not been authorized by his majeſty's miniſters; he conceived that the nature of his command neceſſarily inveſted him with a decree of diſcretion adequate to the end of the deſtined ſervice. If, however, it ſhould be thought by his majeſty's miniſters that he had acted improperly, he deſired it diſtinctly to be underſtood, that he took the expence upon himſelf, and that miniſters might, if they pleaſed, upon the winding up of his accounts, deduct the whole amount of the expence." Thus, from his lordſhip's account, it appears that the original ſcheme of ſuccouring the royaliſts was delayed till a ſeaſon of the year when the attempt was not only highly dangerous, but almoſt impracticable. From this circumſtance, the failure of Earl Moira's expedition will ceaſe to be a matter of ſurpriſe; but when it is conſidered that the commander in chief was ſo little aided by miniſterial intelligence, as to be guided by republican newſpapers in the execution of his meaſures, a more ſucceſsful termination of the undertaking could not be expected.

Thus ended the firſt campaign in which England took an active ſhare, and the ſecond ineffectual attempt of the allies to ſubjugate France.

INDEX.

ACHLAND, Lady Harriet, her heroic behaviour, 114–121.

AMERICAN COLONIES, under four kinds of government, 3; ſtate of them at the peace, 4; induſtry, 5; firſt attempt for taxing them, 6; reſumed, and its conſequences, 7; aſſemble a congreſs, 8; and a convention, 9; how the peace was firſt broken, 11; ſtill oppoſe the tea-tax, 13; and deſtroy the tea, 15; reception of the Quebec-bill, 17; and of the Boſton poſt-bill, 18; general congreſs, 21; government ſtores ſeized at Rhode Iſland, 22; proceeding in England relative to them, 23–32, 59; Lord North's conciliatory bill, 32; hoſtilities begun, 33; eſtabliſh an army and a paper currency, 40; articles of confederation, 41; refuſe Lord North's conciliatory propoſols, and appoint Waſhington generaliſſimo, 48; declare their independence, 65; means uſed for recruiting their armies, 85; their privateers ſucceſsful, 87; ſign treaties of commerce and alliance with France, 121; negociate with other courts, 124, 181, 183; diſtreſſed for money, 174; celebrate the anniverſary of their independence, 175; make peace with Great Britain as independent ſtates, 235; their conſtitution and boundaries, 236; André, Major, concerned in Arnold's deſertion, 180; taken by the Americans, 181; hanged as a ſpy, 182.

ARMED neutrality, account of, 209.

ARNOLD, Colonel, his extraordinary march from Boſton into Canada, 50; joins Montgomery in beſieging Quebec, 51; defeated before Quebec, 52; again attempts to ſtorm it, 65; forced to retreat, 66; defeated at ſea, 83; deſerts from the Americans, 180; his apology, 182.

BAHAMAS attacked by the Spaniards, 274.

BARRACKS, Mr. Taylor's motion relative to, negatived, 407.

BATTLES.—Of Breed's-hill, commonly called Bunker's-hill, 35; before Quebec, 52; of the Cedars, 67; at Moor's creek, 72; at Flat-buſh, 74; of Trenton, 86; of Brandy-wine, 100; of German-town, 102; of Skeneſborough, 106; of Bennington, 109; of Stillwater, 110; at Saratoga, 111; of Freehold, 127; off Uſhant on the 27th of July, between Keppel and d'Orvilliers, 133; at Briar's Creek, 146; between Byron and d'Eſtaing, in the Weſt-Indies, 167; between Earl Cornwallis and General Gates, 178; between Col. Tarleton and Gen. Sumpter, 179; at King's mountain, 183; between Rodney and Langara, 184; another between Rodney and the Spaniards, 185; between Rodney and the French, in the Weſt-Indies, 186; at the Cow-pens, 221; of Guildford, 224; of Camden, 227; of Williamſburgh and Green Springs, 229; in the Cheſapeak, ibid; near Madras, 245, 246, 248; in the Eaſt-Indies near Tanjour, 246; near Arnee, 247; off the Dogger-bank, 264; between Rodney and de Graſſe, 269; before Seringapatam, 374; of Aix-la-Chapel, 422; of Neerwinden, 424; near Louvain, 425, 426; near Maubeuge, 438; of St. Amand, 438; of Famars, 440; between the Nymphe and Cleopatra frigates, 450; of Lincelles, 453.

BONAPARTE, firſt employed as an engineer at the ſiege of Toulon, 469.

BOSTON, in New England, diſpute with the governor there, 10; a tumult, 11; tea deſtroyed, 15; act for ſhutting up its port, 16; behaviour of Salem and the other colonies thereon, 18, 19; blocked up by General Putnam, 35; ſituation of the inhabitants, 58; attacked by Waſhington, 58; evacuated by the Britiſh, 59.

BOUCHAIN and Cambray unſucceſsfully beſieged, 456.

BREED's or Bunker's hill, battle of, 35.

Brunswick, Duke of, his manifeſtoes, 386; takes Verdun, 387; oppoſed by Dumourier, 388; with whom he negociates, 390; quits the French territory, 391.

Burgoyne, General, takes Ticonderoga, 105; encamps at Saratoga, and gains an advantage at Stillwater, 110; ſuſtains a defeat, 111; he and his army entirely ſurrounded and taken priſoners, 112, 113; his troops detained contrary to the convention at Saratoga, 125.

Burke's plan of economy, 199; oppoſes the ſending an ambaſſador to France, 397; ſupports the treaſon-bill, 410.

Cagliari attacked by the French, 420.

Carleton, Gen. his prudent conduct in Canada, 49; defeated and narrowly eſcapes, 50; his humanity, 66; takes Crown-point, 83; make propoſals of peace, 233.

Charlestown beſieged by Clinton, 170; ſurrenders, 172.

Chatham, Earl of, moves an addreſs for recalling the troops from Boſton, 23; for ſtopping hoſtilities in America, 97.

Clairfait, Gen. takes Queſnoy from the republicans, 456.

Clinton. Sir Henry, his expedition up the North River, 114; arrives at Rhode-Iſland, 144; takes John and James iſlands, 170; ſummons Charleſtown, 171; which ſurrenders, 172; iſſues two proclamations, 174; his propoſal to ſome American mutineers, 220; is unable to ſuccour Lord Cornwallis, or prevent his fate, 229, 230, 232.

Coalition adminiſtration, 286; diſſolved, 294.

Collier, Sir George, deſtroys 43 American veſſels, 153.

Conde beſieged and taken by the allies, 446.

Congress of the allies at Antwerp, 436; at Valenciennes, 451.

Conolly, unfortunate iſſue of his undertaking, 56.

Cornwallis Gen. Lord, defeats Gen. Gates in South Carolina, 178; his expedition into North Carolina, 221; iſſues a proclamation, 222; defeats Gen. Greene at Guildford, 224; reduced to great ſtraits, 227; gains an advantage at Green Springs, 229; ſurrenders with his whole army, 233; takes the command of the army in the Eaſt-Indies, againſt Tippoo Saib, 367; carries Savendroog by aſſault, 368; Bangalore, 369; and Seringapatam, 373; ſigns articles of peace with Tippoo, aud receives his ſons as hoſtages, 379.

Custine, Gen. ſucceſsful on the Rhine, 392; unſucceſsful near Landau againſt the Pruſſians, 441; commands the army of the north, 447; unable to ſuccour Valenciennes, 448; put to death, 462.

Dampierre Gen. ſucceeds upon Dumourier's defection, 437; ſucceſsful at firſt, 438; defeated and killed near St. Amand, 439.

De Grasse, French admiral, defeated by Rodney, 269; brought to England, and treated with the reſpect due to his valour, 272.

Despard, Col. his bravery contraſted with his ignominious end, 275.

Dumourier, Gen. commands the republican army oppoſed to the Duke of Brunſwick, 388; his conference with the Duke, 390; enters Bruſſels, 392; his conduct very doubtful, 416; manifeſto to the Batavians, 417; his ſucceſſes, 418; defeated at Neerwinden, 424; his retreat, 425; plan for reſtoring royalty in France, 427; arreſts the commiſſioners ſent to arreſt him, 430; not ſupported by the army, and makes his eſcape, 431, 433; refuſed permiſſion to attend the congreſs, 435.

Dundas's bill for reſtoring forfeited eſtates, 300.

Dunkirk, unſucceſsful expedition againſt, 452–456.

Dunmore, Lord, governor of Virginia, 54; retreats on-board ſhip, 55; attempts to reduce the coloniſts by force, but is defeated, 56; burns the town of Norfolk, 57.

Dutch, hoſtilities with, 212; peace, 281; diſputes between them and the Pruſſians, 319.

Emigrant French, how treated by the Pruſſians, 388; prieſts, how treated by the Engliſh, 389.

Esopus, continental village, &c. deſtroyed, 214.

ESTAING, Count, ſails with a ſquadron to aſſiſt the Americans, 128; unſucceſsful in many attempts, 142, 148, 149, 153; takes St. Vincent's and Grenada, 166.

EUSTATIUS taken by Rodney and Vaughan, 215; re-taken, 217.

FIELDING, Commodore, takes a Dutch convoy, 211.

FLEET of France and Spain ſails up the Engliſh channel, 164; retire after taking the Ardent man-of-war, 165; take fifty ſail of merchant-men from the Engliſh, 180.

FORSTER, Capt. takes the port of the Cedars from the Americans, 67.

FORTIFICATION ſcheme by the Duke of Richmond, 307; rejected, 309.

FOX, Mr. his India-bill, 290; rejected, 294; his opinion on the queſtion of the regency, 324; his libel-bill, 343; carried, 345; his remarks on the king's ſpeech, 395; his motions for peace, 396, 397, 405; oppoſes the treaſon-bill, 408.

FREDERIC Duke of York, his marriage, 355, 357; commands the Britiſh troops on the continent, 420; attends the congreſs at Antwerp, 435; defeats the French at Famais, 440; marches for Dunkirk, 452; diſappointed as to the ſuccour he expected, 453; ſummons Dunkirk, 454; obliged to retreat, 455.

FRENCH revolution, 328; Baſtile deſtroyed, 329; Mr. Burke's opinion, 330; anſwered by Mr. Fox, 331; and Mr. Sheridan, 332; the king, queen, and princeſs Elizabeth, put to death, 401, 463; war declared againſt Great Britain and Holland, 403; againſt Spain, 420; French ſuffer greatly in the Weſt-Indies, 443.

GAGE, Gen. appointed governor of Maſſachuſett's, and general of the army, 18; his operations, 33, &c.

GEORGE III. refuſes to receive, on the throne, addreſſes from the livery of London, 60; makes peace with America, 233; and with the other powers, 275; applies for an increaſe of the civil liſt, 311; attacked by Margaret Nicholſon, 313; goes to Cheltenham, 323; becomes deranged in his mind, 324; rejoicings upon his recovery, 327; offers his aſſiſtance to the Dutch, 393; iſſues a proclamation for embodying the militia, &c. 394; orders the French ambaſſador to quit the kingdom, 402.

GEORGE Prince of Wales, his debts paid by the parliament, 315; his reply to Mr. Pitt, 326.

GIBRALTAR beſieged by the Spaniards, 162, 183; effectually relieved, 299.

GORDON, Lord George, head of the Proteſtant aſſociation, 203; goes up with a petition at the head of 60,000 men, 204; his behaviour in the houſe, 205; tried and acquitted, 207.

GOREE, taken by the Engliſh, 162.

GRAY, Major-general, ſurpriſes and routs a party of Americans under Gen. Wayne, 101.

GREEN, American general, defeated at Guildford, 224; and at Camden, 227; repulſed before ninety-ſix, 228.

GRENVILLE, Lord, his correſpondence with M. Charevelin, 398; another propoſal for peace rejected by him, 411.

HARDY, Sir Charles, ſucceeds Keppel in the command of the grand fleet, 162; endeavours to entice the French up the channel, 165; dies, 178.

HASTINGS, Mr. his treatment of Cheit Sing, 259; his impeachment, 318, 322, 342.

HOOD, Lord, takes poſſeſſion of Toulon for Louis XVII. 460; abandons it, 472.

HOPKINS, his ſucceſs in the Bahamas, 61; obliged to retreat, and remain inactive, 81.

HOWE, Gen. lands at Staten-iſland, 73; carries fort Waſhington ſword in hand, 80; his ſlow movements, 80, 81.

HOWE, Lord, joins his brother with a powerful armament, his unſucceſsful efforts to accommodate matters with the Americans, 73, 76; meets with a ſtorm when on the point of attacking the French fleet, 140; returns home, 143.

HUDSON'S Bay attacked by the French, 274.

HUMBERSTONE, Col. takes Callicut and Panyan, &c. 250; obliged to retreat, and ſuperſeded by Col. Maclead, 251.

JERSEY attacked by the French, 163; they land, but are defeated, 214.

INDIA affairs, 89; revolution at Madras, 91; behaviour of Lord Pigot, 92; his impriſonment, 93; and death, 96; proceeding at the India-houſe thereon, 94; in the houſe of commons, 95; Hyder Ali takes Arcot, but is ſoon checked by Sir Eyre Coote, 213; Sir Edward Hughes diſtreſſes Hyder by ſea, 243; Negapatam taken from the Dutch, 243; and Trincomale, 244; actions between Suffrein and Sir Edward Hughes, 245, 246, 248; defeat of Col. Braithwaite by Tippoo Saib, 246; Hyder's forces take Cuddalore, 247; he is defeated by Sir Eyre Coote, 248; Tippoo Saib attacks the Britiſh lines, but is repulſed, 251; account of General Matthews's expedition into the country of Canara, 251–257; Mahratta-war, 258; Haſtings's behaviour to Cheit Sing, rajah of the Benares, 259; death of Sir Eyre Coote, 262; general peace, 263; Mr. Fox's India-bill, 290; Mr. Pitt's, 298; war renewed, 337, 366; Savendroog taken, 367; Bangalore, 369; Seringapatam, 373; peace made, and Tippoo's ſons delivered as hoſtages, 379.

INGLEFIELD, Capt. of the Centaur, eſcapes from ſhipwreck, 273.

JOHN the painter, his Incendiary attempts, 282; trial and execution, 284.

JOHNSTONE, Commodore, attacked by the French at St. Jago, 242; takes five Dutch Indiamen, 243.

JONES, Paul, takes two Britiſh ſhips, 210.

IRISH propoſitions. 304.

KEMPENFELT, Adm. takes ſome French merchantmen, 265; drowned in the Royal George, 274.

KEPPEL, Adm. made commander in chief, 128; engages the French under d'Orvilliers, 133; tried by a court-martial, 157; honourably acquitted, 158.

LA MOTTE, a French Spy, 284; tried and executed, 285.

LEE, Gen. taken priſoner by the king's forces, 84.

LEOPOLD emperor of Germany dies ſuddenly, 384.

LEXINGTON, ſkirmiſh there, 34.

LICORNE and Belle Poule taken from the French, 129.

LUCIA (St.) taken by Gen. Meadows and Adm. Barrington, 153.

LYONS ſurrenders to Gen. Doppet, 462.

MARTINICO, inſurrection there, 443; attacked by Adm. Gardner, 445.

MATTHEWS, Gen. his campaign in Canara, 251; he is accuſed of cruelty and avarice, 252; ſuperſeded, 255; he and twenty others poiſoned, 256.

MENTZ beſieged by the Pruſſians, &c. 449; ſurrenders, 450.

MINUTE-MEN at the beginning of the American war, 33.

MINORCA, taken by the Spaniards, 268.

MOIRA, Earl, his expedition to the coaſt of Britanny, 479.

MONTGOMERY, an American general, takes Chamblee, 49; defeats Carleton, and takes St. John's, 50; is killed in an unſucceſsful attack upon Quebec, 52; his character, 53.

MUD-ISLAND and Red-bank, attacks upon them, 103.

NEGAPATAM taken from the Dutch, 243.

NEWFOUNDLAND, dreadful hurricane there, 61.

NEW YORK, abandoned by the provincials, 77; partly burnt by them, 78.

NOOTKA SOUND, diſpute relative to, 334; accommodated, 335.

NORTH, Lord, his conciliatory bill for America, 32; another, 122; how received, 125; oppoſes Mr. Pitt's motion for a reform in parliament, 288.

OCZAKOW, Britiſh interference in that affair, 348; withdrawn, 350.

O'HARA, Gen. appointed governor of Toulon, 468; taken priſoner, 469.

OMOA taken from the Spaniards, 168.

OSTEND taken by Adm. Macbride, 434.

PALLISER, Sir Hugh, his behaviour under Keppel, 134; accuſes his admiral, 157; his own trial, 160.

PARKER, Sir Peter, attacks Charleſtown, 63.
PARKER, Hyde, engages the Dutch, 264; refuſes knighthood, 265.
PEACE, general, in the year 1782; terms with America, 275; France, 277; Spain, 279; debates, 280.
PELLEW, Sir Edward, takes the Cleopatra, 450.
PENSACOLA taken by the Spaniards, 242.
PHILADELPHIA taken by the Britiſh, 101; evacuated, 127.
PITT, William, made chancellor of the Exchequer, 268; during the coalition adminiſtration brings forward his plan for a reform in parliament, 287; which is oppoſed by Lord North, and ſupported by Mr. Dundas, 288; when again in place, Mr. Pitt oppoſes a ſimilar plan, and Mr. Dundas then oppoſes it alſo, 297, 363; his India-bill, 298; carried, 299; his plan of reform, 302; rejected, 303; his ſcheme for the ſinking-fund for paying the national debt, 309; carried, 311; his conduct in the regency-buſineſs, 324, 325; letter to the Prince of Wales, 326; deſcribes the proſperity of the country at the beginning of 1792, 356; *ſpeaks* for aboliſhing the ſlave-trade, 359.
POLICE-BILL for London and Weſtminſter, 362.
PONDICHERRY, taken by Sir Edward Vernon, 156.
PRESCOTT, Gen. taken by the Americans, 99.
PREVOST, Gen. takes Savannah, &c. 145; defeats the Americans at Briar's Creek, 146; repels d'Eſtaing, 150.
PUTNAM, Gen. defeated at Flat-buſh, 74.
QUEBEC unſucceſsfully attacked by Montgomery and Arnold, 52.
RAWDON, Lord, attacks General Greene in his camp, and defeats him, but is himſelf obliged to retreat, 227.
RAYNOR, Capt. his valour and modeſty, 142.
REFORM in parliament, motions for, 287, 289, 297, 302, 363, 411.
RHODE iſland taken by Clinton and Parker, 81.
RICH, Sir Thomas, his bravery, 88.
RIOTS in Scotland, 202; in London, 203; at Birmingham, 351.
ROCKINGHAM adminiſtration, 267; death of the marquis, 268.
RODNEY, Adm. defeats the Spaniards twice, and relieves Gibraltar, 184; his victories in the Weſt-Indies, 186; takes Euſtatius, 215; his behaviour there, 216; and in the affair of Tobago, 217; defeats De Graſſe, and ſaves Jamaica, 269.
ROYALISTS, French, in La Vendée, 436, 458; at Lyons, 462; at Toulon, 473, 478.
SAVANNAH and almoſt all Georgia reduced by Gen. Prevoſt, 145.
SAVOY conquered by Gen. Monteſquieu, 391; annexed to the French republic, 393.
SAXE Cobourg, Prince, defeats the French at Aix, 422; his humane manifeſto, 432; that proclamation recalled, 435.
SENEGAL, &c. taken by the French, 162.
SIERRA LEONE company, 247.
SLAVE-trade, 322, 345, 358.
SMITH, Sir Sidney, his account of burning the ſhips at Toulon, 474.
SPAIN joins the Americans, 161; beſieges Gibraltar, 162, 183; attacks the log-wood-cutters at Honduras, 168; joins the confederacy againſt France, 420.
STANWIX, fort, unſucceſsfully beſieged by Col. St. Leger, 108.
STARKE, Gen. defeats Colonels Baûme and Breyman, 109.
SUFFREIN, French admiral, attacks the Engliſh ſquadron at Port Praya, 242; takes the Hannibal, 244; is worſted by Sir Edward Hughes, before Madras, 245, 246, 248; takes Trincomale, 249.
TARLETON, Col. defeats Gen. Sumpter at the Catawba fords, 179; defeated at the Cow-pens, 221.
THOMPSON's ineffectual attempt againſt a detachment of the royal army, 69.
TIPPOO SAIB, makes a degrading peace, 379.
TOBAGO taken by the French, 216; by the Engliſh, 443.

TOULON taken poſſeſſion of by Lord Hood, 460; beſieged by Gen. Carteaux, 467; who is ſucceeded by Gen. Doppet, and by Dugommier, 468; out-poſts attacked, and Gen. O'Hara taken priſoner, 469; the place abandoned by the Engliſh, &c. 472-479.
TRAITOROUS correſpondence bill, 407; paſſed, 411.
TREATY of Pilnitz, 381.
TRINCOMALE taken from the Dutch, 241; retaken by the French, 248.
TYRIE, David, executed for high treaſon, 286.
VALENCIENNES, ſiege of, 447; ſurrenders to the Duke of York, 448.
WALLACE, Sir James, his ſucceſs on the coaſt of Normandy, 163.
WASHINGTON, George, appointed commander in chief of the American army, 48; abandons New York, 78; continues to retreat by Lee's advice, 79; his ſucceſs at Trenton, 86; defeated at Brandy-wine, 100; and at Germantown, 102; deceives Sir Henry Clinton, 230; and ſurrounds Lord Cornwallis's army, 232; which ſurrenders, 238.
WAYNE, Gen. takes Sandy-hook from the Britiſh, 154; worſted at Green Springs, 229.
WEISSEMBURG taken by Gen. Wurmſer, 465; retaken by the French under Pichegru, 466.
WEST-INDIA iſlands taken by the French, 269.
WILLIAMSTADT, ſiege of, 418; abandoned, 419.
WURMSER, the Auſtrian general, takes Mentz, 450; Lauterberg, Weiſſemburg, Wangenau, and Fort Louis, 465; retreats, 466.
ZOUTMAN, Dutch admiral, his action with the Engliſh under Sir Hyde Parker, 264.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

Lewis and Roden, Printers, Paternoſter-row, London.